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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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U.S. 'PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR' AGAINST USSR IN THIRD WORLD ASSAILED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 6-9

[Article by Aleksey Kiva, doctor of historical sciences, under the rubric "Economics, Politics, Ideology": "National Liberation Movement: Present-Day Specifics"]

[Text]

During the past five to eight years imperialism suffered crushing setbacks in the zone of the national liberation movement. The US aggression in Vietnam was a fiasco. The South of the country reunited with the North, giving birth to a socialist state of 55 million people. Progressive forces came to power in Laos and Kampuchea. Once Portuguese colonies, states of socialist orientation, including Angola and Mozambique, emerged. An anti-feudal, national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia was a success. A revolution in Afghanistan triumphed. US imperialism lost its foothold in Iran where an Islamic revolution took place. Patriotic forces won a victory in Nicaragua and effected progressive reforms in Grenada, which were interrupted by the treacherous intervention of the United States. In recent years, a number of new states oriented towards socialism emerged.

Amid the competition and confrontation between the two world systems during the period of peaceful coexistence imperialism was obviously losing ground in the zone of the national liberation movement. Its leaders were well aware of that and acutely reacted to their defeats. It was precisely at that time that they attempted to hamper the formerly enslaved peoples' struggle for strengthening political independence, achieving economic independence and for social progress by different means and methods—from discreditation and blackmail to threats, terrorism, subversion, and military intervention. One of the most widely employed in-

struments for undermining the establishment of the young states and—in a broader context—for controlling the relations between states with different social systems has recently become the so-called "linkage" policy. Here is in brief what this policy means.

The international situation today is such that all developments in the world are interconnected. The change in the situation in one area influences the alignment of forces in the world.

The ideologists in the capitalist world assert that revolutionary changes in the zone of the national liberation movement strengthen positions of the socialist system, including the Soviet Union, and foster the inevitable weakening of the positions of the West. This, they argue, ultimately tilts the general balance of forces between the East and the West in favour of the former. Consequently, a conclusion is drawn that any progressive changes, wherever they might take place, are highly undesirable to imperialism, thus justifying the use of any means to block them, for these changes are nothing but the result of Soviet interference.

The further deepening of detente, the development of political ties, and mutually beneficial cooperation in economy, technology, science and culture between capitalist and socialist states were prompted by the need to preserve the status quo in the zone of the national liberation movement. As a case in point, the Carter Administration tried to demand that the USSR and other socialist countries give up internationalist support to the

peoples struggling for national and social emancipation, thereby leaving the young states face-to-face with imperialism.

These attempts, however, were doomed from the very beginning, for they ignored the laws of social development and the elementary standards of international law (the right of the formerly enslaved countries to sovereign independent development), basic foundations of the foreign policy pursued by states of the socialist community. No "linkage" could cut short the struggle waged by peoples of the newly-free countries for the eradication of the colonial legacy, for the latter stood in the way of their progress. As for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, they cannot remain indifferent when imperialists are plundering the former colonial and dependent countries. Such policy follows from the very spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the principle of proletarian internationalism and Soviet foreign policy, whose foundations were laid down by the great Lenin.

It is easy to guess what the imperialist powers, primarily Washington, meant by "linkage". By "linkage" they mean that they would like members of the socialist community to look on indifferently as the South African military trampled underfoot the dearly-won independence of the People's Republic of Angola, as the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, encouraged by imperialism, mercilessly slayed innocent people, and destroyed houses, schools and hospitals.

It is the cherished dream of imperialist strategists to isolate the newly-free countries from the Soviet Union, the socialist community and from international progressive forces. This would make it easier for the architects of the "linkage" policy to make short shrift of the forces of national and social emancipation.

Having suffered a defeat in the frontal attacks aimed at undermining the unity of the three principal areas of the world revolutionary process (socialist countries, national liberation and international communist and workers' movements), imperialism has escalated its struggle against the progressive forces in the zone of the national liberation movement, and their internationalist ties with the USSR and with the socialist community. It is the alliance between real socialism and the national liberation movement that has become perhaps the main target of the subversive ideological activities of imperialism, as well as reformist and opportunistic forces both within and outside of the young independent countries.

Misinformation, rumour campaigns, gossip, slander, overt lies, and various falsifications were employed on an unprecedented scale. (It is of interest that in the USA, for example, about 30 PhD theses, dealing with the psychological influence of rumours on people were defended; it was calculated that the labour productivity falls by 17 per cent when workers are confused by alarming rumours.) It is precisely the areas where imperialism suffered greatest defeats—Indochina, southern Africa, the Red Sea area, and the Middle East—that became targets of the imperialist ideological subversion. Imperialism set itself the goal of taking revenge for the "defeats it had suffered", of drawing definite political lessons from them, and of "compensating" the setbacks in one country by strengthening its positions in another. Here are examples.

The entire world knows about the disgraceful and criminal war US imperialism waged in Indochina. In that war as many bombs were dropped on the relatively small countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea as were dropped during all of the World War Two. Many towns and villages were razed to the ground, and hundreds of factories and plants were destroyed. Toxic chemicals were widely used against the peaceful inhabitants of those three countries. One might think that the crimes committed by US imperialism would have awakened the conscience of the ruling quarters in Washington, yet nothing of the sort has happened. Using as a pretext the internationalist assistance rendered by Vietnam to the patriots of Kampuchea to rout quickly the remnants of the Pol Pot gangs, the bourgeois mass media of the USA followed by the other leading capitalist countries began accusing the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of aggression and setting neighbouring countries, in particular ASEAN members, against it.

The capitalist world refused to grant any material help to the long-suffering Vietnamese people, despite the fact that progressive mankind has demanded that Washington compensate the material losses suffered by Vietnam during the years of US aggression, at least partially.

Now, imperialism's goal is not only to inflict maximum damage on Vietnam as a socialist state, but also to isolate it in the region, hamper the rebirth of the country, the development of its international ties, and also preserve military bases in South-east Asia, to push ASEAN countries onto the road of militarisation, and, at the same time, provoke distrust



by Asian countries in the policy of the USSR, which allegedly acts behind Vietnam's back.

The US Communist Party paper *Daily World* wrote that the USA has never abandoned attempts to convert ASEAN (Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore) into a military organisation. While visiting those countries, top-ranking US officials were sure to talk about the "growing Soviet activity". They alleged that all of Southeast Asia was under the threat from the North [Vietnam is meant. — *Auth.*]. At the same time they reassure ASEAN members about the sincere support on the part of the United States. Laying bare US tactics as regards ASEAN countries, the Paris-based paper *Le Monde Diplomatique*, noted, among other things, that the Pentagon hopes to draw ASEAN into its military preparations in Southeast Asia by means of standardisation of armaments and military hardware, expansion of the anti-aircraft defenses, and increase of the number of joint military exercises with the participation of two, three and more ASEAN countries.

In other words, US imperialism deliberately whips up tension in Southeast Asia in connection with the developments in Kampuchea to subordinate the ASEAN countries to its influence.

Angola and Mozambique are the main targets of subversive activities in southern Africa. Imperialists have not limited themselves only to ideological subversion, but also employ a wide array of means, including direct acts of aggression by racist South Africa encouraged by international imperialism, primarily by the US military-industrial complex, economic sabotage, financial pressure, manipulation of the prices on the traditional exports of these two countries at the world capitalist market, subsidies and encouragement for activities of local reactionary forces against the legitimate regimes of Luanda and Maputo, setting against them splitters, and cutthroats acting as gangs of mercenaries, and adventurers, rather than ideological and political opponents. And besides, Western bourgeois propaganda, playing up the economic difficulties experienced by these countries, which are largely the result of the subversive activities of imperialism, keeps talking about the "failure" in those countries of the "socialist experiment" and the "fiasco" of the model of the socialist

orientation in the conditions of African countries. (All this is just wishful thinking on the part of the imperialists). Simultaneously bourgeois propaganda, in the spirit of the well-known methods of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, is seeking to smear the policy of the USSR in southern Africa, belittle the importance of the Soviet material assistance to the countries of socialist orientation and prove that the latter could not overcome economic difficulties without Western aid.<sup>1</sup>

Imperialism has long chosen socialist orientation as the target of its attacks because this orientation opens up real possibilities for the newly-free countries of breaking from capitalism and gradually moving towards socialism.

Imperialism tried to compensate the setbacks in Angola and Mozambique by intensifying its influence in other African countries by means of isolating the governments of Luanda and Maputo in Africa, accusing them of "importing" the ideology of Marxism-Leninism "alien" to African traditions.

As is known, the Reagan Administration began to regard the racist regime in South Africa as friendly to it. In a televised speech in March 1981, the US President stated pathetically that the USA cannot leave to the mercy of fate a country which supported America in all wars, a country, in the opinion of the US President, of great strategic significance for the free world (*sic!*). Let the words "to leave to the mercy of fate", which may refer to anyone (non-whites of South Africa, the "frontline states" which are constantly subjected to aggression by Pretoria) except to racist regime which launches plunder and arbitrariness in Africa, remain on the conscience of the US President. In any case, it is not words, but deeds that count. The Reagan Administration, which has given a free hand to the racist regime, has actually become an accomplice to the latter's criminal activities which are directed at destabilising the situation in the "frontline states", especially in Angola and Mozambique, and created new obstacles to the solution of the Namibian issue. Destabilisation of the situation is perhaps a major trend in the policy pursued by the Reagan Administration as regards the countries of socialist orientation, particularly those of them which have declared scientific socialism to be their theoretical

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *US Interests in Africa: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, First Session, Washington, 1980, pp. 314-315.*

foundation, and increasingly follow the principle of proletarian internationalism in their foreign policy. Imperialists hope that the deterioration of economic and financial situation in various countries, acute shortage of necessities, and declining living standards of the population at large, stemming from destabilisation, will discredit progressive regimes in the eyes of the people. At the same time, the punitive actions of the South African brasshats in retaliation for the support given by the "frontline states" to the struggle of the Namibian patriots for freedom and independence of their Motherland, and the subversive activities of such minions of imperialism as UNITA and MNR (Mozambique National Resistance), attacking Angola and Mozambique, respectively, are aimed at bringing terror to the population, assassinating activists, inflicting damage on the national economy, frustrating the implementation of plans of socio-economic and cultural development, and creating an atmosphere of tension and uncertainty among the population. All these taken together, Pretoria and Washington believe, should ultimately lead to the overthrowing of the progressive regimes.

According to available estimates, the damage done to Mozambique by armed gangs of the MNR, amounted to about \$200 million in 1982. The damage inflicted upon Angola by South Africa, UNITA and other divisive pro-imperialist factions, since the birth of the Republic is simply colossal: Luanda officially puts it at \$10 billion!

In the light of all this it is easy to imagine the cynicism of the US Administration, which links the solution of the Namibian problem with the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalists from Angola. Bourgeois propaganda, on the whole, justifies this policy of Washington, referring to the undesirability of the presence of "non-African forces" on African soil, and to the fact that the actions by the SWAPO partisans allegedly compel South Africa to take retaliatory measures.

It should be pointed out that imperialism does not always act openly and sometimes it prefers to act through the local forces inimical to the revolutionary changes, using to achieve its own ends, age-old interstate, ethnic and religious contradictions. Ethiopia is a case in point. When the emperor ruled there, bourgeois propaganda passed over in silence the fact that the country was literally torn by harsh internal strife. But after the revolution, when the

new leaders proclaimed anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist slogans, everything changed: the bourgeois press began describing ethnic and religious contradictions in the country, justifying the aggressive actions by the present Somali regime, the inroads in Ethiopia made by separatists, monarchists and so on.

In response to the revolutions in Afghanistan and Iran US imperialism began preparing grounds for its direct presence in that region with an eye of creating new military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, while the bourgeois mass media provided the ideological cover for Washington's political course. There is, perhaps, no need to repeat false interpretations and all sorts of cock-and-bull stories about the USSR policy in that area, how the ideological centres of imperialism are speculating on Islam, how they are prodding Pakistan and Iran towards rendering aid to the Afghan counter-revolution and how they are whipping up anti-communism in Moslem countries.

Another specific feature inherent in the ideological and political struggle waged by imperialism against socialism today is the striving to preserve hotbeds of tension and create new conflict situations if they can be used in the ends of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. Such an approach is characteristic of the Reagan Administration. Here is just one example. It is obvious to the whole world that the "Kampuchean problem" as such has long outlived itself.

After the collapse of the Pol Pot regime inside the country, Kampuchea embarked on the road of rebirth, gradually healing the wounds inflicted on it in the recent tragic past and implementing the programmes of socio-economic and cultural progress. But for the external forces and the vestiges of the counterrevolutionary bands on the territory of neighbouring Thailand from where they infiltrate Kampuchea, this truly long-suffering country would long have lived a normal life.

However, supporting the Pol Pot and other counterrevolutionary scum and inciting Thailand to hostile actions against Vietnam and Kampuchea, US imperialism is striving not towards normalising the situation in the region, but rather towards compounding it even more. If the developments evolved normally, the Pol Pot "representative" would have long been expelled from the UN and the USA could not set one country of Southeast Asia against another.

All this equally, if not to a larger measure, relates to the developments



around Afghanistan. It is no secret that the outside forces, in particular US imperialism, brings pressure to bear on Pakistan, and, to a certain extent, on Iran to urge them to continue rendering large-scale aid to the Afghan counterrevolution. Imperialism needs the bogey of the "Soviet" and "Vietnamese" danger to undermine the alliance between real socialism and the national liberation movement, and to whip up propaganda hostile to the world of socialism.

It should be noted in particular that when the current US Administration took over, the ideological onslaught of US imperialism took the form of a "crusade" against real socialism and all progressive forces throughout the world. Methods and means unparalleled in the history of international relations since the end of World War II began to be used. It may be said that the Reagan Administration launched an all-out ideological struggle against the world of socialism, and the USSR in particular, basing itself on the premise that "the ends justify the means". The task is set to inflict as much damage as possible to the positions of the USSR in the zone of the national liberation movement. The bourgeois mass media are going out of their way to justify this foreign policy.

The approach taken by US Administration on the confrontation between the two world systems entailed either a change in US policy in different areas of the world or a replacing of the accents in it.

After the Reagan Administration elevated Israel to the status of a US strategic ally, its aggressiveness increased immeasurably. The Lebanese developments are a case in point. Without going into the details of that problem—it has already been well covered by the press—let us stress only one factor. When the Israeli military was plundering Lebanon, besieging the Western part of Beirut and annihilating thousands upon thousands of civilians, including women and children, with the help of napalm, pellet, suction and other bombs of US make, some imperialist mass media, US above all, were trying to pose Israeli aggression as almost a blessing for the Lebanese people, claiming that the invasion of Lebanon by Israeli troops "alleviated" the plight of the Lebanese, who were oppressed by Palestinians and Syrians who were "bossing" the country. The outwardly attractive catchword "Lebanon for the Lebanese" was coined, which is unabashedly cynical and an unsurpassed example of hypocrisy.

When the Reagan Administration came to power, imperialism in its ideological and political struggle against the USSR and the socialist community began using brazen lies and slander on an unprecedented scale. Let us take as an example the provocative accusation of the USSR using chemical weapons in Afghanistan or the sheer invention about the use of Soviet chemical weapons by Vietnam in Kampuchea.

Today the imperialist mass media have been spreading the plain myth that the USSR has tilted the balance of military forces in its favour. The apologists of capitalism know (many prominent leaders in the West more than once made statements on that score) that this is nonsense, but they are distorting the situation deliberately to lead astray public opinion, and justify the large-scale military preparations of the USA aimed at a real tilt in the alignment of forces in its favour.

The continental (regional) bodies of the newly-free countries, such as the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League, the Organisation of American States, and also the nonaligned movement have been the target of an intensive ideological offensive launched by the Reagan Administration. Its main goal is to clear regional organisations, the nonaligned movement in particular, of their anti-imperialist edge.

The charade about the "equidistance" of the nonaligned movement from capitalist and socialist countries, conceived by imperialist propaganda, is assigned to solve this task. At a time when the young states are dependent (economically, financially and otherwise) on the leading capitalist powers, this "equidistance" actually means an even greater dependence by the former colonies on imperialism.

Imperialist propaganda is seeking to justify merciless exploitation clothed in the mantle of neocolonialism, from which former colonies and semicolonies continue to suffer due to the countries of developed capitalism. Progressive periodicals in the developing countries are alarmed: isn't it a "creeping" recolonisation of the young states by means of their economic enslavement? The debts of the developing countries, mainly to the capitalist finance centres, doubled during the past three to four years, reaching the exorbitant figure of more than \$600 billion. According to some estimates, about \$130 to \$140 billion go to pay interest. One after another the developing countries are going bankrupt unable to pay their

debts. We should also add the fact that transnationals siphon off funds of the developing countries at a rate of some \$25 billion annually. Let us note that in Asian and African countries the income from the capital investments by the TNCs by means of unbridled exploitation of labour and natural resources amount to 65.7 per cent, as compared with 14 per cent in the developed states. What are the long-term consequences of all this? This question arouses anxiety among many in the developing world. Imperialist powers and their propaganda give their own answer to this question. For example, at the 6th UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in Belgrade in the summer of 1983 representatives of capitalist countries proposed that newly-free states place the emphasis on private enterprise and attracting foreign capital, and simultaneously slighting planning and the public sector. *Danas*, a Yugoslavian magazine, wrote on that score: "In Belgrade, international capital is convincing the developing countries that virtually all their problems can allegedly be solved by creating a favourable climate for foreign investments. Such appeals have the aim of coming back to economic neocolonialism with lamentable political after-effects." In other words, further plunder and financial enslavement are proposed as a means curing poverty and dependence.

The "Programme for Democracy and Public Diplomacy" advanced by R. Reagan is part and parcel of the ideological offensive of US imperialism against the developing countries. Having proclaimed the "programme for democracy and public diplomacy", the Indian paper *New Age* wrote, Washington made a frank confession of its intention to impose the American order on the rest of the world, as the only order possible and obligatory. While the USA is trying to bring military pressure to bear on young states with the help of the rapid deployment force, the aim of the new programme is to undermine them from within, create a "fifth

column" in them and with the help of bribery, blackmail and other dirty means bring to power the people who are to the liking of the United States.

That the ideological war against the USSR, the socialist community at large, and against the national liberation movement and all progressive forces of the world has been launched on an unprecedented scale is also seen from the formation in Washington, in accordance with the decision of the President, of a special cabinet-level committee headed by the national security affairs adviser to the President W. Clark, for "propaganda planning".

The setting up in London in June 1983, of an alliance of 24 conservative parties from 19 capitalist countries, including the USA, Britain, West Germany, Japan and others, testifies to the same purpose. The alliance has pretentiously called itself the "International Democratic Union". Its immediate task, in conformity with the "crusade" proclaimed by R. Reagan is to coordinate actions in the struggle against the left and democratic forces, including, no doubt, in the zone of the national liberation movement.

Never before in the entire postwar period have the imperialist reactionary forces displayed so much resolve in distorting the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, in ascribing to it goals which are alien to it, and in stripping themselves of the responsibility for the aggravation of the international tension and for the preparation for a war. The exposure of the imperialist warmongers, of their ideological subversion against the countries of real socialism, against the international communist and workers' movement and the national liberation movement is an urgent and, at the same time, highly humane and noble task. As was noted at the June (1983) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people will spare no effort in the struggle for ensuring peace on earth and for the social and national rights of the Peoples. ■

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U.S. FAR EAST MILITARY BUILDUP, TIES TO JAPAN, S. KOREA HIT

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 10-12

[Article by Valentin Petukhov, candidate of historical sciences: "The U.S.--Japan--South Korea: NATO's Double in the Pacific?"]

[Text]

The region of Asia and the Pacific is assigned a special role in the global military and political strategy of American imperialism, the strategy based on great-power ambitions and the desire to regain the former military superiority of the US and ensure its undivided rule in the world. The ideologists of the current administration believe that, in working towards the attainment of these goals, Asia is strategically as important as Western Europe.<sup>1</sup> They warn against the US weakening its positions in the given region, which Reagan's predecessors in the White House allegedly allowed to happen. The countries located in the region (Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the five ASEAN members, South Korea and Taiwan) constitute a traditional sphere for the trade and industrial expansion by American monopolies and an important market for raw materials and products. In the past few years the trade turnover between these countries amounted to 110,000 million dollars, which exceeds the trade turnover between the US and Western Europe and accounts for about a quarter of entire American trade.<sup>2</sup> American capital investment in these countries' economies is also growing faster than

it does in other regions. Nevertheless there, too, priority is now given not to economic but to military-political factors designed to worsen the situation, to breed conflicts and to bring pressure to bear on other states.

Admiral R. Long, commander of the US Pacific and Indian Ocean fleets, said in his interview given to the Japanese newspaper *Asahi* that that was the region of greatest importance to the US in the 1980s and the subsequent period and that it was precisely in that region that, according to him, a confrontation with the Soviet Union was most probable. The plans nurtured by the present American Administration with respect to the given region as well as its general policy in the world have been inspired by the current American President's appeal: "Let us be shy no longer—let us go to our strength!"<sup>3</sup>

Year after year sees the strengthening of the naval grouping acting under the US Pacific command, which exercises control over the American armed forces both in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, that is, an area accounting for more than 50 per cent of the surface of the entire globe. The strike force of the US Pacific fleet grew sharply when the *Carl Vinson*, a latest atomic-power-

<sup>1</sup> *A US Foreign Policy for Asia the 1980 and Beyond*, Stanford (Calif.), 1980, p. XIX.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> *The Department of State Bulletin*, July, 1982, p. 28.

red aircraft carrier, and the New Jersey, a modernised battleship which was the first in the US Navy to be equipped with cruise missiles, were added to it. American submarines which carry ballistic missiles and are stationed in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean are being joined by latest missile carriers equipped with Trident missiles. Ever new air force units, including squadrons of strategic bombers, are being deployed around the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in East Asia. The corresponding bases both on American territory (Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, etc.) and in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Taiwan (on board the Seventh Fleet aircraft carriers) are being used for the purpose.

The Reagan Administration is ever more persistent in drawing its Far Eastern allies in the US nuclear strategy. A new structure of military-political cooperation between the US, Japan and South Korea with the secret enlistment of the Taiwan regime is being evolved under Washington's auspices. This aggressive alliance is directed not only against the Soviet Union but also against China, North Korea and the socialist countries of Indochina.

The frankly militarist stand adopted by the Japanese ruling elite in opposition to the cause of peace evokes growing concern among the nations inhabiting the region and also among the peace-loving countries throughout the world. The country, which was the world's first victim of barbarous atomic bombing by the US and which "for ever" renounced in its postwar Constitution war as a means of resolving international disputes and the development of its own armed forces, is now steering towards renewed militarism, the arms race, and aiding and abetting Washington's aggressive plans, despite the will and aspirations of its people. Cooperation between the US and Japan is increasingly slanting towards the military field.

Washington is urging Tokyo to expand its military commitments within the framework of the US-Japanese treaty and to increase its investment in their "mutual defence". The underlying considerations include confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socia-

list countries and, what is no less important, the American interest in restricting the economic potential of Japan, which has emerged in its development as power No. 2 in the capitalist world. By encouraging it to raise its military spending and to buy more American weapons, Washington hopes to reduce the enormous deficit in its trade with Japan (20,000 million dollars in 1982) and to weaken the country, which is its main rival on the world market.

The Japanese ruling elite resorts to cooperation with the US to implement its own far-reaching plans of militarising the country and attaining hegemony in Asia. Already in late 1978 the US and Japan coordinated between themselves the "guiding principles" of bilateral cooperation on military issues and undertook the planning of joint military operations. Soon after the Reagan Administration came to power, in Washington (May 1981) the Japanese-American summit talks were held, which ushered in a new stage in relations between the two countries. During the talks the Japanese government openly stated readiness to act in concert with the US and other imperialist powers in the West virtually in all fields, including military cooperation. The joint communique on the results of the talks officially and unambiguously characterised relations between the US and Japan as an alliance the first time ever. In this way they were in fact elevated to the level of relations between the US and the NATO countries, not only in form but in essence: the two military blocs spearheaded by Washington have, as it were, merged into a single system directed against the USSR and other socialist countries and established between themselves a certain coordination in developing and putting into effect corresponding military programmes.

This course towards the virtual "Natoisation" of Japan was eventually formalised at a conference of the Big Seven (the US, West Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Canada and Japan) held in Williamsburg in May 1983. For the first time in the history of similar meetings the conference, under pressure from the US, focussed its attention on the military-political problems of interest to NATO rather than on the eco-



nomic problems the Seven originally assembled to consider. Japan was attracted to take part in the conference on a par with the NATO member states. The conference made a joint statement which voiced support for the US stance at the Geneva talks on the reduction of nuclear armaments and flatly refused to consider at the talks the nuclear missile potential of Britain and France, that is, in fact advocated the blocking up of the talks with the aim of implementing the NATO decision on the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe. Apart from joining officially the NATO countries by signing the aforementioned statement, Japan insisted on including in it, to please the US, the point that the "security" of the states participating in the conference should be approached from "global positions", in other words, to go beyond rearming Europe and to spread "rearmament" to Asia. In this way Japan expressed readiness to be "NATO's Asian member".

In spite of the aforementioned declarations of its own Constitution, the Japanese government has long turned the so-called Self-Defence Force into the full-fledged armed forces and is now speedily building up their military potential in terms of both quantity and quality. At present this Self-Defence Force, which maintains close operational contacts with the American armed forces, has about 270,000 servicemen in its 13 well-trained and mobile army divisions. American military experts estimate that, as far as firepower and some other key indicators are concerned, the Self-Defence Force ranks sixth or seventh among the armies of the capitalist countries. During the past ten years allocations for the Self-Defence Force annually grew by 8 per cent to top 10,000 million dollars in 1982. In the five years from 1980 to 1984 the government has planned to spend 13,500 million dollars only to modernise the Self-Defence Force so as to further build up its offensive capability.

Under the impact of Natoisation Japan has committed itself to exercising military patrolling of the Pacific shipping lanes within 1000 miles (1700 km) from

its shores. In this way the US has passed to it part of its own military tasks in the northwestern area of the Pacific—from Guam to the Philippines—to be able to move some of its ships, in case of need, from that region to other explosive areas in Asia. In violation of its Constitution, the Japanese government now extends the operation of its Navy far beyond the boundaries of its territorial waters with an eye to using it first and foremost to bring pressure to bear on the policy of its neighbours. This threatens to aggravate relations between Japan and the countries in the region and to destabilise the situation in it. This is precisely the result to be expected from, for example, the plans by the Japanese brass to block with American support the La Perouse, Tsugaru and Korea Straits, which are known to constitute international waters open for free navigation by ships belonging to all countries. The littoral states concerned would hardly remain indifferent to similar encroachments on their lawful rights.

The Japanese government has, besides, agreed to take upon itself part of the burden of financing the upkeep of the American armed forces on the Japanese islands (it annually appropriates 1,000 million dollars for the purpose) and also to help build on its territory munitions depots to be used when need be by the American rapid deployment force. The US which is planning to deploy in the region new types of medium-range nuclear weapons to directly threaten the security of the USSR not only in the West but also in the East has also obtained the Japanese government's agreement to the deployment on the island of Honshu of two squadrons of the latest American F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons as well as to the deployment of the Tomahawk cruise missiles with nuclear warheads on ships stationed in Japanese ports. Yielding to pressure from Washington, the Japanese government impudently ignores in practice the special decision made by the Diet in the spring of 1981 to renounce the development, possession and import of nuclear weapons. The powers that be in Tokyo have nothing against seeing Japan as a "nuclear hostage" of the US.



Despite certain decisions made previously in keeping with the country's Constitution, the Japanese government agreed to transfer its ultra-modern technology to the US. The Pentagon, which has long been after it, has now received unimpeded access to Japan's accomplishments in micro-electronics, laser technology and other discoveries to be used in developing new types of weapons.

It is only natural that this co-operation is being boosted under President Reagan who heads one of the most bellicose US Administrations in the past decades and under Prime Minister Nakasone in Japan, who is an enthusiastic advocate of the forced militarisation of the country and a die-hard "hawk" playing into Reagan's hands.

It is noteworthy, however, that both Reagan and Nakasone, heeding to the anti-war inclinations of the Japanese people, felt obliged to pose as peace-makers in their public pronouncements. Reagan's speech in the Japanese Diet is especially indicative in this respect. "In all the postwar years," the Tokyo **Akahata** wrote in this connection, "the Japanese MPs had never heard anything so hypocritical or false as the speech by the US President. The aggressor who arrived in Japan stained in blood and gunpowder cinders after the sovereignty of small independent Grenada had been trampled underfoot spoke as if he was an envoy of peace and freedom. A zealous advocate of plans of a 'limited' nuclear war, he was holding forth about nuclear disarmament. Generously praising Japan, he imposed on it new exorbitant military and economic commitments."

Among other things, Reagan's visit aimed at reaching complete understanding with the Japanese government on the problems of policy towards South Korea, which is a key continental link in the American-Japanese alliance and at the same time a potential sphere of rivalry between Washington and Tokyo.

The US props up the repressive dictatorship in Seoul with bayonets and uses it to retain South Korea as one of the main bases of American military presence and the "first echelon" of its aggressive strategy in the Far East. In late 1953 Washington signed with the Seoul regime the so-called "joint defence treaty" which "legalised" the indefinite occupation of South Korea by the US armed forces. Forty thousand American servicemen are stationed here on about 40 military bases. Besides their own troops, the American command exercises control over the Seoul regime's army which with its 650,000 soldiers is bigger than any other capitalist country in Asia.

With Reagan in the White House, the South Korean slanting of the US Far Eastern policy has become markedly pronounced. Symptomatically enough, the first guest of the new US President from abroad was none other than Seoul's military dictator Chun Doo Hwan. The joint communique issued by Reagan and Chun Doo Hwan on February 3, 1981, pointed out that the US was not going to withdraw its troops from South Korea and was ready to supply it with new arms. The same was reiterated by Reagan during his Seoul visit.

Under Reagan American military and financial aid to Seoul has grown sharply. For example, in fiscal 1982 the US Congress earmarked for the purpose 166 million dollars and subsequently the Administration insisted on an additional subsidy to the tune of 29 million dollars. In fiscal 1983 the sum went up to 210 million dollars.<sup>4</sup>

While "rearming" its lesser ally, Washington is simultaneously building up its own forces on the Korean Peninsula, equipping them with new types of combat hardware, including medium-range missiles and neutron weapons. During his Seoul visit the American President assured the South Korean dictator that, if need be, the number of American troops stationed in the country would be further increased.

<sup>4</sup> *Current History*; April 1982, p. 184.

The concentration of a vast number of troops in the south of the Korean Peninsula and the building up of all sorts of armaments there undermines the stability of the international situation in the region. All this also runs counter to the vital interests of the Korean people: the presence of American troops on their territory is the key obstacle to the realisation of their lawful striving—the reunification of the two Koreas. The Americans refused to comply with the resolution passed by the 30th UN General Assembly session on June 27, 1975, which envisaged the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and practical measures to stop the build up of armaments in that country, to reduce considerably the armed forces of the two Koreas to the same level and to preclude military confrontation.

Instead of helping to achieve a political settlement of the Korean problem, Washington directs its efforts to perpetuate the split of Korea and with this aim in view nurtures tensions in the region. Large-scale manoeuvres by all types of troops of the US and the Seoul regime with the participation of "observers" representing Japan's Self-Defence Force are being held ever more frequently in the southern part of the country at the close approaches to the borders of the demilitarised zone, as if on the threshold of big military operations. The notorious CIA-staged provocation with the utilisation of a South Korean passenger plane for military espionage in a closed area over the Soviet territory late last summer also served to whip up tensions.

In dealing with Korea the US also seeks to rely on its Japanese ally. Formally Japan is as yet not linked with the Seoul regime by a military treaty but Washington has long been urging it to establish permanent military contacts with South Korea, to coordinate measures of rearming and training troops and to give the Seoul regime financial and other aid in order to build up its military potential. To ensure headway in these matters, a Japanese-South Korean "inter-parliamentary council to guarantee security" was set up in April 1979 and included deputies to the highest legislative bodies

of the two sides. Reviving the traditional aspirations of the Japanese militarists, Tokyo officials began claiming ever more frequently that the security of South Korea was allegedly inseparable from the security of Japan itself.

In January 1983 it was confirmed by the first since the war official visit by the Japanese head of state to South Korea, which the American press called a "turning point" in relations between Japan and its former colony. As is seen, Japan is being increasingly drawn into the US military preparations in the region of Korea to the point of directly teaming up with the Seoul military dictatorship.

The cobbling of a new aggressive alliance between the US, Japan and South Korea and heightened militarism in the policy pursued by the Japanese powers that be, naturally, evoke anxiety in the countries of the region.

It is indicative that, though complaining about the "anxiety" and "fears" allegedly caused by the Soviet Union, the Japanese government at the same time stubbornly refuses to accept the Soviet government's proposals to discuss mutual fears and to agree to develop and implement on a multilateral or bilateral basis corresponding confidence-building measures, which would help ease tensions in the region. It is equally reluctant to conclude a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan consistently advocated by the former.

Broad strata of the public and politicians in Asia and other regions of the world cannot but see the danger stemming from Washington's attempts to place their countries under its own control and to kindle confrontation between nations. This is a direct threat to peace and security. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries counter it with constructive initiatives which, if put into effect, might improve the political climate in the region and promote the peaceful conditions of the life of the people. Nevertheless the US and its allies ostentatiously ignore the goodwill of the socialist countries and continue whipping up tensions fraught with murderous conflicts. ■

## INTERNATIONAL

### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF 'REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC' ARAB REGIMES VIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 13-16

[Article by Sergey Stoklitskiy, candidate of economic sciences: "Socio-Economic Policy of Revolutionary Democrats: Experience of the Arab World"]

[Text]

The June (1983) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee devoted considerable attention to the international situation, in particular to the problems of the development of relations between the USSR and the young national states. In his speech at the Plenary Meeting Yuri Andropov emphasised: "Closest to us in the former colonial world are the countries which opted for socialist orientation. We are united with them not only by common anti-imperialist, peace-loving aims in the foreign policies, but also by common ideals of social justice and progress."

This article deals with the experience gained in progressive transformations in Arab countries.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of questions linked with the formation of the socio-class structure of society, adequate to the notions and policy-making provisions of revolutionary democrats. The lack of steady and direct connection between the basis class-forming elements of the backward multistructural society and the state-political superstructure considerably facilitates the advent to power of a revolutionary democratic coalition. At the same time, the weak material and technical basis and the inadequate socio-class stratification of society creates certain difficulties in the way of the progressive regimes.

Assessing soberly the existing situation, the revolutionary democratic vanguard takes energetic measures to consolidate its rear, actively using the levers of economic policy to this end.

#### BREAKING UP THE STRUCTURES: CONTRADICTIONARY RESULTS

The intrusion of the progressive democratic regimes in the relations of property, and also the subsequent estatization or the use of other ways towards the establishment of social forms of management were the first in time and in logic of development step in that direction. Radical

changes, together with major economic results, brought about serious shifts in the social structures of the Arab countries of the socialist orientation.

The development of progressive forms of management, primarily of the socialist-oriented state (public) sector in town stimulated the growth of the ranks of hired labour. The proletariat-recruited mainly from the urban poor, landless peasants and other dispossessed strata of the population, serves as the social medium on whose support local authorities may rely without hesitation. This is quite understandable, since for a pauper to get a job is tantamount to a guaranteed possibility to earn a living.

One should not overestimate, however, the possibilities for expanding the contingent of the hired labour engaged at state-owned factories. Even in Algeria where in the 1970s the annual rates of increment of employment in the non-agricultural sector were very high (8.9 per cent 9.2 per cent), unemployment remains a most acute problem.

Among the many factors hampering the solution of the employment problem, it is necessary to note a higher capital intensity (than in the private sector) of projects which are under construction or in operation in the public sector. In Syria in 1979 the cost of one job opening at the state-owned construction sites reached 204,000 pounds, according to our estimates, and exceeded by several hundred per cent the corresponding figure for the private enterprises. Nevertheless, in some cases the authorities turned their backs on technical and economic reglamentation, and, for the sake of solving social problems, primarily for the sake of strengthening their social base, frequently sacrifice their economic interests. For example, in Syria a circular was issued early in 1980 demanding that all organisations and enterprises of the public sector utilise to the maximum the surplus labour that emerges while reorganising or reequipping the production process.

In parallel with the growth of the number of workers in the public sector and often superceding it, as to the rates of growth, the government management apparatus is increasing. Its unjustified swelling—and this is being often stated by the authorities themselves—is actually subordinated, in many cases indirectly, to the operation of definite complicated and often specific laws of development inherent in the social formations of multi-structural society (religious considerations, family, clan ties, etc.). Moreover, the differentiation, in particular the property one, of the medium and intermediate layers—as a rule it is precisely these which form the framework of the regime in Arab countries of revolutionary democracy—also affects the management machinery, which functions in the atmosphere of petty-bourgeois elements where the roots of the new, socialist orientation have not yet implanted themselves everywhere. All this plus the great degree of autonomy of the political and economic superstructure sharply enhance the risk of eroding the revolutionary power.

This happens when, as Vladimir Lee, a Soviet scholar, analysing Egypt's departure from the struggle for social progress when Sadat was in power justly noted, the authorities display inability or simply unwillingness to oppose the growth of the new, especially bureaucratic bourgeoisie, when, instead of consistent democratisation of society there occurs a break of the state-political apparatus from the broad masses of the working people, and the class degeneration of the nationalistic petty-bourgeois leadership inevitably occurs. In such cases the monopoly of power becomes an object for buying and selling in the hands of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and a source of the original accumulation of capital of sorts.

Egypt's experience shows that decisive measures need be taken against corruption and embezzlement by the "fifth column" entrenched in the state apparatus, when socialist orientation is opted for. Such struggle is waged, on a broad scale, by the authorities in many countries. In Syria in 1977 a decree was issued on setting up "economic tribunals" to curb the abuses that were inflicting grave damage on the public sector. Simultaneously measures were taken to democratise the management of enterprises. In 1971 in Algeria a law on the socialist management of enterprises was passed in order to ensure broad democratic control in the public sector.

Progressive measures as regards private property also told on the aspect of the urban bourgeoisie in Arab countries of the socialist orientation. An end was put to the existence of the big foreign and local bourgeoisie (in countries where it existed) as an independent class. Petty and medium entrepreneurs and merchants in all countries, with the exception of perhaps South Yemen hurried to fill the vacuum created after the elimination of the big bourgeoisie. This process assumed visible dimensions in a number of countries. Even today private entrepreneurs control building and contractual work, a considerable part of housing, trade and services, in active use of which the state was interested. For example, in Algeria, by the end of the 1970s about 75 per cent of trade and services was controlled by local entrepreneurs. There were quite a few among them, whom the Syrian newspaper *Tishreen* referred to as a capitalist and parasitic class. According to the newspaper, it includes middlemen, brokers, those who are engaged in foreign trade operations and are not controlled by the state, and those who make money in wholesale trade, smuggling and bribery.

It is indicative, however, that part of this bourgeoisie, while extracting sufficient profit from servicing the state in various ways, supports the current policy but, of course, until the existing *modus vivendi* becomes a brake on the further progress of concentration and centralisation of its capital.

Hundreds of thousands of landless and land-hungry peasants undoubtedly stood to gain from the land reforms which eliminated or undermined substantially the positions of big feudals and rich landlords in Arab society. Many of these peasants were involved in production based on public-group property: cooperatives, self-governed farms and also model state-owned farms. It should be stressed, however, that peasants who came to those farms are inclined to



support the initiatives of the authorities only provided they do not lead to a grave deterioration of their material condition or do not run counter to the system of their moral values. If the self-payment of peasant associations turns into mere formality, their members will ultimately try to return to their plots of land, or will be forced to become hired labourers at rich farmsteads.

It should be pointed out that well-off peasants used to their advantage the fruits of the land reform in the Arab world. The elimination or breaking up of the feudal partitions in the private sector contributed to the rise of rich peasants who are principal figures at the private commodity market. In some cases these reforms stimulated the turning of the former landlords into capitalist entrepreneurs. One should also keep in mind the fact that revolutionary democrats, regardless of their future plans, are forced at the current stage to be economically interested in the rich peasants and other representatives of the capitalised farms, inasmuch as they are among the leading suppliers to the commodity market. Former practice demonstrates, however, that the new rural bourgeoisie like their urban counterparts retain a certain degree of loyalty to the socio-economic policy only until the revolutionary authorities are solving general democratic problems.

#### THE POLICY OF REGULATING INCOMES

Alongside the direct intrusion in the relations of ownership, the revolutionary-democratic regimes in all Arab countries of socialist orientation actively resort to the policy of regulating incomes at the stage of their redistribution. With the help of the latter, they are seeking, apart from solving financial and economic problems, primarily, the mobilisation of internal accumulations, to ease contrasts in the social and property inequality which have not yet been eliminated as a result of the structural break-up of relations of ownership of the means of production.

According to the National Charter of the Algerian National Democratic Republic, issued in 1976, the social policy of the revolution should provide for a just and equal distribution of the hardships and fruits of development, working for the most dispossessed in the first place to take advantage of the results of the economic growth. Similar ideas formulated in various ways can be found in the policy making documents of other countries of socialist orientation. How are they implemented?

Judging by incomplete information, it appears that South Yemen has scored tangible results in this field. First, the role of a subjective factor of democratic movements is great there, i. e., of the revolutionary party of a vanguard type armed with the theory of scientific socialism and consistently pursuing a course which will eradicate property inequality, primarily through eliminating social inequality. Besides, far-reaching socio-economic transformations enhance the importance of the institution of state employment. The wages and salaries for the factory and office workers in the state and cooperative sectors has become, as a rule, the main source of income. Consequently, the state took in its hands the real levers of control over the regulation of incomes. Second, this is a result of the weak differentiation of the initial structures of South Yemeni society. As a re-

sult, the ratio between the minimum and maximum levels of wages and salaries at the state-owned enterprises at which the main bulk of the able-bodied workforce is employed declined from 11:1 in 1968 to 6:1 in 1980. As for the incomes of the private sector, in South Yemen they are subjected to a progressive "double" tax: a "special tax" that reaches 37.5 per cent on annual incomes exceeding 900 dinars, and 47.5 per cent on incomes exceeding 2,400 dinars, and also to a universal progressive income tax on the sum left after the payment of the "special tax".

The situation is somewhat different in the countries with a higher level of socio-economic development, in particular in Algeria. During the long years of colonisation a sufficiently large inequality in incomes took shape among the local population. Early in the 1970s, despite acute socio-economic changes in the country, the gap in incomes was still rather large. According to our estimates, the ratio between the group of dispossessed and poor layers of the population with the average annual income of up to 400 Algerian dinars and most well-off layers which obtained 3,500 dinars and more was at that time approximately 1:10-11.

The subsequent measures by the Algerian government were aimed at narrowing this gap. On the one hand, steps were taken to close differences in the levels of payment of the labour of skilled specialists and low-paid workers in the public sector at the expense of a faster dynamics of growth of the minimum wages. According to estimates by V. Meiyantsev, at the end of the 1960s the salaries of the top officials on the average exceeded twenty-fold the level of the wages received by agricultural workers, while at the end of the 1970s the figure was from thirteen- to fifteen-fold. Simultaneously, the untaxed minimal wage steadily grew. In 1972-1980 it increased from 300 dinars to 1,000 dinars (taking into account, of course, the general increase in the levels of incomes). Agricultural taxes were lifted and certain petty employees and tradesmen were exempted from the direct tax. All these measures affected about 40 per cent of the gainfully-employed people of Algeria. Simultaneously an attempt was made to block the growth of the propertied layers of the population by means of high taxes. Beginning with 1979, the taxes are taken from the entire mass of salaries, thus making it possible to tax the part accounting for different bonuses, etc.

At the same time one should bear in mind that private property of the means of production continues to remain the source of profits for a considerable part of the population, and it is no easy task to place it under control with the help of direct taxation. The same is true of Syria where, as Damascus based *Al Thawrah* had to admit, "there exists a considerable difference in incomes between those engaged in the public and private sectors". In all cases, the efficiency of direct taxation and, together with it, the share of direct taxes in the general mass of the regular budget earnings grow rather slowly.

The property inequality is everywhere overlapped by a grave discrepancy in the incomes earned in town and village, thereby bringing to light a considerable cost difference in the levels of the development of the productivity of agricultural and non-agricultural labour and the uneven

character of the commodity and value exchange between them. For example, despite the measures that have been taken in South Yemen, the government failed to reduce the gap in incomes between town and village, and it is still large. By now the incomes of rural population, according to the available estimates, account only for one-third of the incomes received by urban dwellers. In the 1970s the gap between town and village in Algeria, far from reducing, even somewhat increased. The share of rural dwellers in the overall fund of individual incomes of Algerians went down from 34 per cent to 16 per cent, whereas their share in the overall number of the population decreased by only five per cent, from 65 per cent to 60 per cent. Like in South Yemen, many Algerian families compensate the shortage of incomes from agricultural production by involving the resources from the outside, primarily the earnings from relatives living in cities or in emigration. With certain reservations, the same can be said about other Arab countries of socialist orientation.

Thus, the regulation of incomes constitutes a most intricate and delicate sphere in the entire socio-economic policy. Its results depend on the unusually broad spectrum of mutually intertwined circumstances: the socio-class nature of power, maturity of socio-economic structures, correct choice of the instruments for regulating incomes, and so on. On the whole, it may be apparently stated that the schemes for redistributing individual incomes in the majority of Arab countries of socialist orientation in the beginning of the 1980s ironed out, to a certain extent, the big gap in the rates of incomes between the highest and the lowest groups of the population, even though they have not hitherto curbed property differentiation. As far as the growth of money incomes is concerned, the absolute differences in the means which are at the disposal of poor and well-off families may even increase.

The socio-political consequences of the policy of regulating incomes look rather contradictory. Since such policy is the continuation (but, as a rule, by different means) of a policy to restructure social relations progressively it naturally serves as the object of clashing the interests of different social groups belonging to various property layers. On the one hand, this policy aimed at eliminating inequality undoubtedly leads to the growth of popularity of revolutionary democracy among the masses. But, on the other, if consistently implemented, it causes mounting discontent (sometimes even resistance) among the well-off upper crust of society, primarily the representatives of the private sector.

Dissatisfaction can be found among officers and highly paid state officials. If one takes into account that the political activity of these groups is higher than that of the broad masses, it is easy to see that under certain conditions the further development of the progressive income policy may backfire on the left wing of the revolutionary democrats and, instead of the further consolidation of the regimes, make them more vulnerable.

The opponents of socialist orientation are going out of their way to use in their interests the still existing gap in the levels of incomes to discredit the progressive line of development.

## ATTENTION TO SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Simultaneously progressive regimes give attention to the development of such forms of social progress which could satisfy the demands of the broad masses by different means without infringing on the interests of any layer of society. By this we mean the enhanced interest of the government in the problems of mass education, the more so that among the spheres of social infrastructure it is perhaps hard to find any other field where the socio-political, economic and cultural aspects of development merged. Let us note in the context we are interested in, that progress

**Level of Education\* Among the Corresponding Age Groups in Algeria, South Yemen and Syria in the 1970s**

	Education Level			
	Primary (from 5-6 to 10-12 years)		Secondary (from 11-13 to 16-18 years)	Higher (22-24 years)
Algeria	1970	79	12	2.07
	1978	99	29	2.0**
South Yemen	1970	57	10	0.07
	1977	72	28	2.0
Syria	1970	81	88	9.0
	1978	92	48	7.3***

Source: UNESCO. Yearbook 1980, Paris, 1980, table 8.2.

in mass education, together with the growth of general culture, creates prerequisites for the enhancement of the social activities of the masses. Together with the general educational and special disciplines, broad strata of the population come to assimilate the ideological concepts of the ruling regime.

Significant success in the sphere of elementary education was achieved in the majority of Arab countries of socialist orientation by the end of the 1970s. At the junction of the 1970s and 1980s many of them reached high indices of drawing their population into the elementary school education (see table). It is obvious that considerable shifts will occur at the secondary school level in the majority of those countries during the first half of the 1980s. At the same time, there are grave problems in the sphere of education which complicate the progressive movement of the countries of socialist orientation. Among them is, primarily, a considerable lag in eliminating illiteracy among the adult population. For example, in South Yemen there were two hundred literate per each 1,000 adults, and in Algeria the corresponding figure was 270.

Hence, the movement of the ideas of revolutionary democracy towards the broad strata of the population and the conscious mastering of those ideas by them has been hindered considerably. The possibilities for consolidating the

\* The ratio of the pupils to the whole group of the people of the given age (in per cent).

\*\* 1977.

\*\*\* 1976.

"authorities—masses" link, which is so necessary for the establishment of the socialist option are shrinking drastically. Moreover, many people from the illiterate mass of the population may find themselves under the influence of forces ideologically hostile to the cause of social progress.

Arab countries of socialist orientation have also scored tangible successes in health protection. Together with the growth of the number of clinics and physicians (in general this is characteristic of the majority of countries in the region), free medical care has been introduced everywhere in the countries of socialist orientation or is steadily expanding.

It is evident that the time is not yet ripe to draw a final conclusion about the turbulent and diversified social dynamics in the Arab countries of socialist orientation.

One should also bear in mind the influence of such important external factor as the unfading struggle of ideas of world socialism against forces of imperialism and reaction. The steadfast onward development of theory and practice of world socialism and its growing influence on the young states compel imperialist quarters to manoeuvre, on a broad scale, to uphold their ideological and social positions in the former colonial and semi-colonial periphery, thereby impeding the practical implementation of socialist orientation. However, one may already state that, as a result of radical reforms in those countries, the face of a number of important institutions, primarily of the public sector, has changed.

The private sector is also playing a different role. Its preservation and functioning under control of the state is economically indispensable. It is highly essential, however, that in a revolutionary-democratic state its development in the socio-economic plane is possible only on a pattern level when its road to the formation level has been blocked.

As a result of progressive socio-economic reforms revolutionary democrats succeeded in creating a definite, rather broad, though simultaneously a motley social base for themselves, which includes broad strata of the working class, middle and well-off peasantry, petty and medium bourgeoisie, and a considerable share of the intelligentsia. Moreover, the poor layers of the population, as a result of the expansion of their political rights, have acquired a new social status. The downtrodden and oppressed broad masses are increasingly turning into an active political force of the revolutionary regimes. In his report at the International Scientific Conference in Berlin (October 1980), Boris Ponomarev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out that the "achievement of a situation when the working people will really feel the fruit of the revolution not only in the moral and political sense—obtaining human dignity and respect for the man of labour—but also in tangible improvement of their living conditions is a decisive, I would say, turning point guaranteeing success to the course of socialist orientation." Only this can, in the final count, make socialist orientation irreversible.



## INTERNATIONAL

### ASIAN STATES DEVELOP OWN NEWS DISSEMINATION SYSTEM

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 21-23

[Andrey Davydov article: "For Equal Cooperation in the Sphere of Information"]

[Text]

**T**he striving of developing countries, including Asian ones, to rid themselves of the diktat of imperialist powers in the sphere of preparing and distributing information materials, manifests itself in the creation of appropriate organisations on the regional level, in which the leading role belongs to these countries themselves. Such an organisation functions also in the most densely populated region of the world—Asia. The idea to set it up originated in the 1950s, when questions of the development of Asian countries were discussed in the United Nations Economic and Social Council. It was noted at the time that the overall raising of the educational and cultural level of the population in Asian countries was one of the most important preliminary conditions of ensuring progress in the continent. The development of the mass media in the region's countries was declared to be the most effective way of achieving this aim.

A conference of representatives of the media services of the continent's countries was held under the auspices of UNESCO in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, in December 1961. The formation of the Organisation of Asian News Agencies (OANA) was announced at it, and the organisation's charter was adopted. It was noted in the charter that OANA regards as its principal task the strengthening of mutually advantageous cooperation among national news agencies and the corresponding services of other regions of the world and also the elimination of the imbalance in the flow of information from the developed capitalist countries.

In the first years of its existence, however, OANA was not particularly active in pursuing this goal. This was largely due to the shortage of funds and also to the lack among OANA member agencies of a clear idea about the prospects of cooperation within their pool. So, the imperialist information monopolies continued to control the information market in Asia.

The organisation faced serious obstacles also because it experienced a shortage of equipment and communication facilities. In this age of electronic computers and artificial earth satellites used as means of communication, the exchange of information among OANA members was conducted at first mostly by mail. Quite naturally, the information distributed by mail could not be in any way competitive with the news supplied by the Western information agencies.

Noticeable positive changes occurred in OANA's activities late in the 1970s and early in the 1980s. The 5th OANA General Assembly, held in November 1981 in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia, raised the question of reorganising the pool, substantially expanded its membership and introduced changes in the charter. In addition to this the Asian News Network (ANN) was put into operation within the framework of OANA for the exchange of information with the aim of serving as a trustworthy and reliable source of information about Asia via Asia.

The purpose of ANN is to remove the imbalance in the flow of information coming from the capitalist countries of the West and liquidate the situation when news of little importance is quite often exaggerated completely out of proportion and when news contains little information about events in the Asian continent.

Whereas in the past information mostly of a local significance was circulated in the region presenting limited interest to users and, as it has already been mentioned, was far from prompt, now the services put out by member agencies increasingly often include up-to-date materials raising global issues related to economic and social development, the overcoming of backwardness, poverty, unemployment and inflation, the struggle for peace, against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

All members of the organisation agree that the beginning of ANN's operation has been very successful. The news agencies of Asian countries that were previously little known to readers and TV and radio audiences have now become familiar to them since more and more information is now being attributed to them. The continent's mass media has started making more extensive use of OANA materials, this being evidence of growing support given to this organisation by users of information, an indicator of the efficiency of its communication system—the ANN. Thus, in ac-

cordance with multilateral agreements on information exchange, the Indonesian news agency Antara gives preference to materials received from OANA. Up to 20 per cent of foreign news received in India already now comes directly from the young states, including through ANN channels. Welcoming the system's entry into service, the Philippine newspaper *Daily Express* noted that it could become an effective means of sparing the public in Western countries of the prejudice that is typical to this day of news filed from Asia by the major bourgeois agencies.

ANN's successes were noted during the meetings of the OANA Technical Group and Executive Committee held in 1982. Within a short period of half a year the ANN system was joined by seven new members, thus doubling the number of its active participants. The Moscow-New Delhi and New Delhi-Jakarta-Manila communication channels, backed up by computerised centres in Moscow, New Delhi and Manila, have become the main channels for the transmission of information in the ANN system.

The joining of the new network by the news agencies of a number of socialist countries, in particular TASS, VIA (Socialist Republic of Vietnam) and KCNA (People's Democratic Republic of Korea) has caused profound alarm in the West. The information monopolies view the creation of ANN as a serious blow to their positions in the Asian information market since with the help of ANN the member agencies of OANA acquired the possibility of sending their information to all member countries of the organisation, even if they often adhere to diametrically opposed political and ideological views. Speaking before a meeting of the OANA Executive Committee, its President, Ahmad Mustapha Hassan, noted that certain circles in the West are displeased with the organisation's existence and are trying to impede its growth and development. He stressed that such attempts only strengthen the member countries' resolve to achieve their goals.

The ANN recommendation to limit the distribution of information in Asian countries only to the communication channels of ANN's member states is among one of the more serious steps taken to restrict the influence of the Western information corporations in Asia. This measure would allow the local news agencies belonging to the system of government bodies to control the output of the Western press and regulate its access to the national media. In this connection, the OANA President stated that this position had the support of the organisation's leadership and that "if any information is detrimental to national interests, it

will not be used" because the interests of these countries should be the determining factor.

The struggle for the establishment of a new information order in Asia is passing in complex conditions. This is connected first of all with differences in the political, economic and social systems of the region's developing countries and their different approach to the solution of the domestic problems encountered by them. While coming out in general for the establishment of a new information order in the world, the political leaders of some developing countries of the continent uphold the principles of "freedom of the press", "pluralism of information sources" and "no state control over the mass media". It goes without saying that under conditions when imperialist monopolies dominate the world information market, this position damages the common cause of the peoples of Asian countries, their striving for independent development in all spheres of society's life.

It is along several directions at once that the West is trying to prevent a just and equal participation of developing countries in international information activity. Along with attacks against socialist states and charges that they supposedly engage in "ideological subversion" and other "subversive actions" in the information sphere, the capitalist countries resort also to other methods of influencing the newly-free countries in order to retain there the dominant positions of their information services.

One of these methods is to prevent the news agencies of developing countries from attaining the necessary technical standard. The imbalance of information is a result of this and it expresses itself, for instance, in the fact that the overwhelming part of the most important information about developing countries, including Asian ones, is disseminated by the information services of the West, first of all of the United States, with due account for their own interests.

The attempts of the developing countries to close the technological gulf in their information services are resisted by the West, while their requests for assistance are often made dependent by representatives of Western agencies on clearly unacceptable conditions which make the young states dependent on the capitalist powers.

Although at the present stage the Asian national agencies still find it hard to compete with the information corporations of the West as far as speed of processing and transmitting news go, their strong point is that they are the original source of information. In the future, when the gap is closed, this can give them certain advantages.

Besides questions connected with technically equipping the mass media in developing countries, they are also faced with the extremely urgent problem of training personnel for their information services.

This question is of prime importance for the national news agencies of developing countries. Developments show that the West intends to intensify its participation in this process, pursuing first of all political aims. This was stated, for instance, with cynical frankness by the Canadian newspaper tycoon Roy Thompson who stressed that the developing countries allegedly had no idea of what journalism was about and that if the West did not intervene quickly and teach them, then others, whom the West disliked so much, would do this and in a way clearly not to the West's liking.

The imperialist powers and first of all the United States are taking concrete steps in this direction. On February 8, 1983, the USA issued a statement announcing the US administration's intention to take a more active part in the "competition of ideas and ideals", and set forth a programme of "democracy and public diplomacy". A prominent place in this programme is given to activities in the field of information and, in particular, to the participation of the United States in the training of specialists for the mass media of developing countries. Of the \$65 million the US administration has requested from Congress for putting this programme into effect in 1984 a considerable part is to be earmarked for the training of specialists in the field of information, for the distribution of books and magazines, and for drawing people holding key posts in the mass media of various countries, including developing ones, into participation in all sorts of conferences, held by Washington's propaganda machine with the aim of "exchanging ideas" and developing "cooperation" in the field of the distribution of information.

A special "planning group" has been set up to fulfil this programme while the group itself consists of a number of interdepartmental standing committees, including a commission on questions of international information responsible for planning, coordinating and carrying out activities in the sphere of preparing and distributing international information in support of the policy and interests of the United States.



Addressing a press conference convened in connection with the proclamation of this programme, US Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger stated that the main attention in this political action by Washington would be given to the socialist countries and the developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, while only a small part of it would relate to Western Europe and even then solely with the aim of ensuring its participation in "more extensive activities to strengthen democracy in the whole world".

In these conditions the information organs of the young developing states have to uphold the positions won by them and resist attempts to push them off their chosen road. Here they can always count on the aid of socialist countries, all progressive and democratic forces.

One of the main tasks facing OANA is to give assistance to the setting up of news agencies in those countries of the region where they do not yet exist, for instance, in the Pacific islands, Papua-New Guinea, Fiji, etc. OANA will also give every possible assistance to its member agencies that are in particular need of developing their news services. When planning the organisation's activities the OANA Secretariat provides first of all for granting the possibility to all countries of the region, that do not have their own news agencies, to acquire the information they are interested in through OANA.

In order to coordinate activities in the field of communication, OANA intends to start up a dialogue with the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (APBU) and some other similar organisations in the region.

The expansion and invigoration of OANA's activities and the consolidation of its structure is of much importance for the young Asian states in their struggle for the new international information order. Speaking about the organisation's prospects, the OANA President A. Hassan said that in the near future OANA will become a major source of information not only for its region but also for the whole world and will express the aspirations of the peoples of Asia. The equal partnership of members, the participation in the information exchange, on a broad democratic basis, of agencies representing countries with different social, economic and political systems is a guarantee of the successful attainment by the Organisation of Asian News Agencies of its proclaimed aims.

The socialist states view their activities within the framework of OANA as an embodiment in practice of the principles and provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act concerning cooperation in the field of information and exchange of ideas in the interests of strengthening peace and international understanding. These principles were reiterated in the Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states which met in Prague in January 1983. The Declaration says: "It is impossible to lessen the military danger without creating a climate of trust in relations between states. Along with the development of the political dialogue, the adoption of corresponding measures in the economic and military fields this requires the dissemination of truthful information, renunciation of great-power claims, of the propaganda of racism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, of attempts to lecture other peoples on how they should arrange their life, and renunciation of the preaching of violence and the whipping up of military psychosis."

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SOVIET PUBLIC HEALTH ACTIVITIES IN THIRD WORLD DESCRIBED

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[Larisa Chernyavtseva and Maria Kost article under the rubric "Internationalism, Unity, Cooperation": "Humane Mission"]

[Text]

Cooperation in public health care between the Soviet Union and developing countries helps the latter to cope with acute and urgent problems in the field.

Soviet aid to young independent states is to be seen in fundamental areas, such as designing, building and equipping medical centres at an up-to-date scientific and organisational level. More than 30 medical centres have already been built and equipped with Soviet technical aid, among them major hospitals (both specialising in various fields and with a narrow specialisation) in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Congo and Kenya, a medical department and a research laboratory in Guinea.

At present several medical centres are being built in a number of developing countries. For example, a 300-bed infants' hospital with an outpatients' department is being built in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; hospitals are also being built in Laos, the Congo and other states.

The Soviet Union meets the requests of the governments of many young countries by sending them medicines, equipment, instruments and medical vehicles.

The USSR is making a weighty contribution to combatting infectious and parasitic diseases, which are, unfortunately, still fairly current there. Experts in infectious diseases, epidemiologists and bacteriologists are being sent to developing countries, together with the necessary medicines, vaccines and serous preparations, with a considerable portion of these medicines supplied gratis.

Hundreds of Soviet medical specialists are working in newly-free countries on all the continents. Large groups are working in Algeria, Angola, Afghanistan, Guinea, Tunisia, Syria, Libya, Mozambique, Democratic Yemen, Mauritania, Kampuchea and many other states. They get experts with sound training and vast experience who specialise in various medical branches.

Here are a few concrete examples of cooperation between Soviet doctors and some African and Asian states developing today their own public health systems.

**ALGERIA.** The USSR is giving invaluable help to the Algerian People's Democratic Republic in developing its national health system. This was affirmed by the General Secretary of the Algerian Health Ministry Mohammed Bouhara during his visit to Moscow. He commented on the expertise of Soviet doctors, their selflessness and loyalty to their internationalist duty and pointed out that they enjoy great prestige among the Algerian people.

The two countries have been cooperating in the field of health care for more than twenty years now. During the period a virtually new sanitation-and-epidemiology service was developed in Algeria with the active participation of Soviet epidemiologists and bacteriologists. Disease prevention bureaux have been set up in all the district and regional health departments. For more than 15 years a 200-bed hospital staffed with Soviet doctors has been operating in the Algerian town of Lakhdaria. All in all more than 600 Soviet medical workers now work

at 40 hospitals and polyclinics in 30 Algerian cities and towns. Fifteen Soviet lecturers teach at medical departments of Algerian universities.

In October 1980, the town of El Asman with a population of 120,000 was rocked by an earthquake, which left people without a roof or food supplies. The Soviet medical staff of a local hospital was the first to help the afflicted. Doctors and nurses worked round-the-clock; though they had sent their families away, they stayed on for another half year to help the victims and the local population. Soviet specialists, who found themselves in the disaster area, administered out-patient treatment to more than 20,000 people and performed 1,500 operations.

To help the doctors working in El Asman, the Soviet government sent two more teams of doctors and nurses from Moscow. The first team was headed by Moscow's chief surgeon Vladislav Teryaev, Dr. Sc. (Medicine), and the second by Prof. Victor Gostintsev of the Moscow 1st Medical Institute. One team was stationed in the town of Oued-Rhiou, the other in the town of Sig, not far from the earthquake's epicentre. It was there that the sick and the victims were taken to and where they were given first aid.

Here is how Teryaev described the work of his colleagues: "The team included surgeons and experts in traumatology and infectious diseases. All of them are highly skilled specialists not only in their fields but also in the related ones. The nurses demonstrated brilliant organisation and indefatigability. The patients were brought in serious condition with suppurative complications after traumas, neglected catarrhal and infectious diseases."

The work of Soviet medical specialists was highly praised by the inhabitants of El Asman and the heads of Algeria's Ministry of Health. Numerous grateful letters came to the Soviet Union.

**SYRIA.** Soviet specialists extend much help to this country in developing its health service. Technical designs developed in the USSR were used to build a mother-and-child health care centre and a school hygiene centre, which were not to be found in Syria before it became independent. Now the country has two rehabilitation centres, a TB prevention centre and two centres to combat schistosomiasis. The Soviet Union also supplies Syria with medical equipment. A great contribution is made by Soviet doctors working in the country at the request of the Syrian government. They visit the most far-off areas to attend to the needs of the Arab population. There is

one more point of no small importance. Hundreds of Syrian students, together with their peers from dozens of developing countries, are getting their higher education in Soviet medical schools.

**LIBYA.** Anyone who visited this country several years after the revolution of 1969 was bound to notice the striking changes that have taken place there since that time. Dozens of modern factories and plants have been and are being constructed, highways and railroads are being built, and large-scale housing construction is under way.

The Libyan government also shows great concern for the development and expansion of the national health system. More than a hundred new hospitals have been put into operation in the past few years alone. Among the country's major medical centres are a hospital in the town of Beida and those in Tripoli and Benghazi. Much attention was paid to the country's southern and southeastern regions, which had no medical care to speak of prior to winning independence. To cater to nomadic cattle-breeders, small mobile out-patient clinics with surgical, dental and gynecological departments have been established there. Most of the medical centres are run by the state, which gives them modern equipment and vehicles to transport the patients.

Disease prevention work is actively being carried out, with the participation of Soviet medical staff. Model mother-and-child protection centres have been set up in Misurata, Gharian, Zawia, El Barkat, Benghazi and other cities and towns of the country. Special attention is attached to organising the work of quarantine centres now operating in all of Libya's port cities. Thanks to a large-scale campaign of combatting epidemics and grave diseases, the number of epidemic diseases, especially among children, has fallen radically in the country. On average the government spends about 10 per cent of the state budget a year on public health care needs.

Social reforms, particularly in the field of health protection, have dramatically improved the situation of the indigent strata and boosted the prestige of the revolutionary authorities. The vigorous measures taken by the Libyan government to overcome economic backwardness, the anti-imperialist policy, the desire to defend the country's interests in confrontation with imperialism, developing friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are promoting progressive changes in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

**YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC.** The development of a modern health protection system has been declared one of the key tasks of the Yemen Arab Republic. The newspaper *Al-Thawrah* reported that 35 new polyclinics, 25 public health centres and 9 hospitals were opened in different regions of the country in the past five years alone. The republic is largely aided by the Soviet Union in this field. Soviet experts helped the North Yemeni people build a hospital in Sana, which was named after the Yemeni revolution. It is one of the best in the country. Soviet doctors now work there.

**ETHIOPIA.** "The health system should serve the people" was the slogan set forth by the national democratic revolution of 1974 and which determines the content of the radical restructuring of the medical system in Socialist Ethiopia.

Widespread nowadays is the movement of voluntary donations to the fund to form a national health care system. During their spare time rural workers pitch in to build medical stations. In cities and townships the best buildings formerly in the possession of the local rich are being transformed into polyclinics and hospitals. In the past 8 years the number of medical establishments in the country doubled, thanks to sizeable government spending, the active participation of public organisations and the enthusiasm of the masses.

The programme of revamping the country's public health system envisions the building of 200 new polyclinics and more than 20 first aid stations a year. Great importance is attached to disease prevention measures.

Ethiopia is actively training doctors and paramedical personnel—its Red Cross Society collaborated in organising fundamental health service and first aid courses in all of its 14 provinces. More than 5,000 of their graduates are already working at dispensaries in the country's cities and townships.

Soviet and Russian doctors are well known in Ethiopia. Already in the late 19th century a group of Russian doctors helped the people of Ethiopia to combat an outbreak of the plague. To commemorate the selfless effort by Russian medical specialists, streets in Ethiopian cities were named after them. One of the Addis Ababa streets also has a Russian name.

**AFGHANISTAN.** The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shows great concern for the development and building of public health establishments. Addressing one of the meetings with

representatives of the country's tribes, Babrak Karmal said that the country embarked upon the road of independent development ranking 129th in the world as far as the level of public health service was concerned. The current five-year economic development plan has formulated a noble goal to place medical care within the reach of the entire population and to eradicate dangerous infectious diseases. The

newspaper *Anis* writes that hospitals are being built in different provinces of Afghanistan, including a 200-bed hospital in Herat, a 100-bed facility in Faizabad, and a 200-bed health care centre in Jalalabad. Apart from that, new maternity hospitals and vaccination stations are also to be built.

The Soviet Union is rendering Afghanistan vast and diverse assistance in the field of health care. For example, Afghanistan's major medical establishments—a 400-bed hospital and a mother-and-child care centre in Kabul—have been built with Soviet technical and economic aid.

The mother-and-child care centre consists of a kindergarten for 250 kids and a polyclinic, in which dozens of Afghan mothers are daily given expert consultations on child care and upbringing and can also have a physical. The centre is staffed by both Soviet and Afghan experts and in the years of its existence has become immensely popular with the country's population.

The building of a large polyclinic to cater to 600 people, which is to be carried out within the terms of an agreement signed by the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has become a major event in the life of the Afghan capital. Soviet enterprises are to deliver advanced technology and medical equipment and to help install them and ensure further maintenance. The new polyclinic is to cater to shop floor and office workers and students of Kabul and its environs.

Cooperation between Afghan and Soviet medical workers in training medical personnel for Afghanistan has acquired a qualitatively new character. After the April 1978 revolution exchanges of doctors specialising in different fields have grown considerably. Soviet doctors are working in Afghanistan's hospitals and clinics and dozens of Afghan experts have visited the USSR, where they took part in a number of national conferences of Soviet doctors.

**KAMPUCHEA.** The country is bringing to a close the development of a public health system. In the period of the Pol Pot regime (1975-1978), nine-tenths of the country's medical researchers and technicians were exterminated, including 550 skilled doctors.



All of the country's hospitals and dispensaries were completely destroyed and their equipment ruined.

The rebuilding of the public health system has become a priority task of the victorious Kampuchean revolution. Thousands of Kampucheans, who had survived the repressions organized by the Pol Pot men, had their health undermined by hard forced farm work, constant malnutrition and the virtual absence of medical aid. Pol Pot's "folk doctors" were often ignorant of elementary medical facts and the "treatment" they administered was the cause of death of 80 per cent of their "patients". People tended to conceal their ailments and turned for "medical aid" only in case of serious diseases.

In keeping with the decision of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council, the surviving medical personnel were gathered in Phnom Penh immediately after the liberation and then appointed to different regions of the republic.

At the same time teams of Soviet and Vietnamese medical experts were sent to Kampuchea and medicines began arriving from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Nowadays the country's 19 provinces have 24 hospitals ranging from 100 to 400 beds each. Eight central hospitals operate in Phnom Penh. All in all the country has more than 6,000 hospital beds, which is a tangible improvement on the prewar level. Three pharmaceutical factories have been rebuilt. The training of national medical personnel is making headway. Soviet lecturers in Phnom Penh are training surgeons, general practitioners, pharmacists and dentists from among the local population. Every province runs courses to train paramedical personnel. Hundreds of young boys and girls have been sent to study at medical schools in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"All our successes," Yith Kim Seng, Kampuchea's Minister of Health, said, "would have been impossible without the help given by our friends from the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries. The people of Kampuchea will never forget this aid."

The minister expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries for the diverse and selfless aid in developing the medical network and training national medical personnel.

**MOZAMBIQUE.** Seventy Soviet doctors are now working in different cities and provinces of the People's Republic, eagerly sought by the peo-

ple, who know that Soviet medical personnel are there to give them expert help without fail.

Soviet pediatrician Nelli Solovyova had been working in the town of Inhambane for two years. During an outbreak of a violent form of malaria, she saved life of many a Mozambican child, and not only Mozambican for that matter.

The Soviet Embassy in the People's Republic of Mozambique received a letter from Bulgarian Danko Lechev who had worked in Mozambique. "Not long ago," the letter read, "our daughter Albena contracted the cerebral form of tropical malaria. She was comatose for several days, and Soviet pediatrician Nelli Solovyova did her utmost to save the girl. She stayed up for virtually a week, never left Albena for long and warded off death. My family and I, a Bulgarian Communist, want to express our profound gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for educating wonderful fighters for the thing most precious under the sun—human life. We wholeheartedly thank Nelli Solovyova for her selflessness and expertise as demonstrated in saving our daughter."

The doctor has returned home and is now working at one of Moscow's child clinics. But to this day thousands of mothers in Mozambique recall with gratitude and affection this lady who spared no effort to save and cure their children.

**MAURITANIA.** Soviet doctors who went to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to give medical aid to its population knew little about the country. The local climatic conditions proved severe, especially for people used to a temperate climate. The Sahara desert occupies a considerable part of the republic's territory and the temperature there at times reaches 50°C, often aggravated by sand storms.

In 1974, the first team of Soviet doctors came there and for nine years now new volunteers have regularly been coming to replace their predecessors. One of these teams included Leonid Sedov, Cand. Sc. (Medicine). When he graduated from Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow he had an advantage of being fluent in French in addition to his medical diploma. He mastered Arabic in Mauritania, which spared him of the difficulties in dealing with the local population. Other doctors sometimes even needed two interpreters, which greatly complicated matters.

Only 26 Mauritanian doctors work in the country with a population of 1,500,000 and the country's only medical school annually graduates 60

paramedical workers. It is easy to imagine that the arrival of skilled Soviet doctors was quite an event for the local population.

The prestige of Soviet experts grew with every passing day. People from the country's remote areas and even neighbouring Senegal visited them for consultations. Industrial and office workers, who received treatment at the polyclinic, always spoke highly of Russian doctors, and the country's minister of health and social security appreciated their work, calling it truly selfless.

"On more than one occasion we happened to bring back to life those who were gravely ill," Leonid Sedov said. "For example, once a worker with a bad burn was brought to our centre. The patient insisted on being sent abroad for treatment. We offered our aid and in a comparatively short while he recuperated and was back to work. There were tears in his eyes when he thanked us. Such occurrences were numerous. The patients saw that Soviet doctors were experienced and sympathetic."

**SIERRA LEONE.** Soviet medical experts have been working in the republic for 15 years now. In the Magburaka hospital alone they have performed thousands of operations, are conducting large-scale disease prevention work and sharing their rich experience with native medical personnel.

Not long ago a new team of Soviet doctors came to the country. A meeting held on the occasion was addressed by Sierra Leone's Minister of Health Fasuluku Suku-Tamba, who said that the improvement of the public health system and the training of medical personnel formed an important prerequisite of the republic's successful development. He also voiced deep gratitude to Soviet doctors working in the difficult conditions of West Africa.

"We attach great importance," the minister said, "to training Sierra Leonean doctors at Soviet educational establishments. This profession is most necessary to our country, which still has many dangerous diseases and a high mortality rate. We are glad to see that three quarters of Sierra Leone's diplomaed medical personnel are graduates from Soviet schools of higher learning."

A high sense of responsibility in performing their professional duty, selfless work and kindness to their patients have won Soviet medical experts recognition and prestige among the inhabitants of these countries and respect of heads of their public health systems. This is confirmed by the positive press comments made on their work in Algeria, Tunisia, Mali and many other countries and by the grateful memory of thousands upon thousands of their patients who have been brought back to life thanks to the skill, knowledge and effort of Soviet specialists.

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WEST BLAMED FOR IDI AMIN, BOKASSA, MACIAS

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[Article by Boris Asoyan, candidate of historical sciences, under the rubric: "Facts Accuse": "Africa: Colonialism's Three 'Godchildren'"]

[Text]

Africa's road to freedom and social progress is not strewn with roses. Human reason refuses to believe that after decolonisation, in the last third of the 20th century, the maniac Macias in Equatorial Guinea had committed genocide against his own people for many years, that hundreds of thousands of people had become victims of "Field-marshal" Idi Amin in Uganda, that had been his sinister kingdom, and that in Central Africa Bokassa, a hangman by calling and deeds, had proclaimed himself "emperor".

All three had a single "godfather"—colonialism. Amin began his career in the British army, Bokassa in the French army, and Macias went through the school of the Spanish colonial administration. With the help of such protégés imperialism hoped to solve several problems at once: to safeguard its economic and strategic interests, to prevent the appearance of progressive tendencies in the political course of these countries, strengthen the reactionary pro-Western wing in the Organisation of African Unity, and to use these puppets to undermine the liberation movement in Africa. In addition to this by giving their blessing to such terrorist regimes, the neocolonialists hoped to discredit the very idea of the political independence of Africans, to prove that, since such sinister personalities could rise to positions of leadership, Africa supposedly was not "ripe" enough for independent development.

All three had a pathological passion for glowing titles and pomp. The record here was set by Macias, who held 45 official titles. One of the state slogans professed "God created Equatorial Guinea thanks to Macias".

Idi Amin was more "modest". This "president for life" had named himself a Fieldmarshal, doctor of international law and "defeater of the British empire". Bokassa was the most cunning of all and transformed his republic into a "hereditary monarchy", making Amin green with envy because he, too, had been harbouring such an idea.

And yet another stroke to their portraits: Amin and Macias named Hitler as their idol, while Bokassa's idol was Napoleon.

Many people in Africa (and not only in Africa) may ask how it happened that these tyrants had succeeded in holding almost 15 million Africans in chains of slavery for many years? Who stood to gain from their ascension to power? The answer can be found by taking a look into the recent history of the three countries.

THE UGANDAN TRAGEDY

We were sitting on the veranda of an old colonial house almost on the very summit of one of Kampala's hills. It was already evening and the brief African dusk was dying in front of our eyes in the blood-red rays of the sun that was sinking into the Lake Victoria. The water glittered with bright and still warm reflections that faded away, giving place to the cool and dispassionate reflections of the moon. The night that had descended on the land became filled with an array of sounds made by night insects and birds. The huge contours of the catholic cathedral towered grimly nearby in the darkness.

We listened to the night, which enchanted us with its songs. The setting was so wonderful that there was no need

to talk. My host, John Mukasa, a middle-aged Ugandan who worked at one of the banks, sat motionless, taking an occasional puff on his pipe.

Suddenly the silence was broken by a shot, a second, a third. A burst of automatic fire. Somebody was shouting, an engine roared to life and tyres screeched on a punishing turn. Then again silence set in and the alarmed voices of the African night fell one tone lower.

"Again they've taken someone", Mukasa sighed. "It happens almost every night. They come when it's dark so that people won't remember their faces. Many have already disappeared." Mukasa shook his head, struck a match to light his extinguished pipe, and let out a cloud of smoke. "Remember, you once asked me how it could happen that my people, famous for their rich culture and a high literacy level, found themselves ruled by an illiterate and bloodthirsty tyrant? I told you at the time that I did not know, that I myself could not comprehend. Since then this thought has not left me and I think I have stumbled on an answer. I'm afraid my story will not be a brief one. Are you prepared to hear me out?"

I nodded in silence.

"I remember Idi Amin when he was still an ordinary colonel. President Obote was in power, the country, on the whole, was not in poverty and nobody could have imagined that only a few years later Uganda would be reduced to ruins and our people transformed into a herd of individuals trembling with fear. Amin was quite popular. He could easily come up to you in a bar—and I must say that he hardly passes a single evening without a glass of whisky—and offer to stand you a drink and say a couple of humorous sentences. He had a reputation as a joker. At the time many people laughed at his jokes, but today they are crying. Many think that he is off his rocker. But that would be an oversimplified explanation of his actions. He is an ordinary dictator, one of many created by history in all parts of the world. It's simply that we have never yet had such a one and that is why he seems to be somehow special.

"At the beginning he was popular with the ordinary folk", Mukasa went on. "He rose to power starting from the bottom and knew the life of the peasants well. He said things that other politicians did not know how to say. His popularity was tremendous. But gradually it became clear that this was the popularity not of a politician but of a comedian. Outside Africa he was regarded an oddity, the way people stare at an elephant or an unusual freak. But that does not hurt him. He does not seem to care that with every year worse and worse things are being said about him.

As a leader of a country he is a nonentity, but he is talented as a clown.

"Just look at who he has taken into the government—illiterate soldiers turned by him overnight into captains, majors and colonels. The main thing for such 'ministers' is to steal as much as possible, to build houses for themselves, to provide relative with good posts, but as far as the people go they could not care less. As to all the hardships, the colonialists can be held to blame for that, since nobody will dare object. Do not think that I want to whitewash the colonial epoch. But now we do not have even what we inherited from colonialism, no matter how small this inheritance was. Amin and his gang have destroyed and plundered everything."

Mukasa lit up his pipe again and went on.

"Under Amin one ethnic group is being sicked against another. Tribes related to the Kakwa, that is, Amin's tribe, are held to be the highest ones, while the rest are treated almost like slaves. Take the Karamajongs—they are nomads who live in the east of the country, in a semi-desert, and constantly suffer from droughts and hunger. But now they are almost openly referred to as 'dirty and abominable animals'.

"Many of my former university friends have become alcoholics. I find it difficult to condemn them. We cannot provide for our families, we are incapable of working normally and fear permeates our entire life. I conceal my thoughts from my neighbour although we work together because I am not sure that he will not report on me. I simply cannot understand how it is that we still exist. For several years already everything has to be bought at black market prices even in state stores. But wages have remained the same. How can I, for instance, buy a carton of milk a day for my children at 20 shillings, if I earn 600 a month? I had to discontinue my studies, though I wanted to become a historian.

"Do you know why throughout his rule Amin has not written a single paper? Because he is completely illiterate. He gives all his orders orally. This is convenient to him also because it is easier to cancel such orders. He can say anything to win over his interlocutor, only to order in cold blood a minute later that he be killed. He is politically naive, absolutely unpredictable and amazingly cruel.

"Now I am approaching the crux of the matter: who stood to gain from Amin's coming to power? Under the government of President Obote my country not only developed economically but also strove to escape imperialist control, pursue its own course in foreign policy and provide assistance to progressive forces in Africa. But as you



know, this did not suit either Britain or the United States. Now we do know that Obote was overthrown on orders from outside. And Israel, too, had a part in this: Amin was a buddy of Colonel Barlev, the military attache at the Israeli embassy in Kampala (true, their relations had soured later on).

"Before the British embassy was closed I had acquaintances there.<sup>1</sup> I remember one of them saying that Amin was their choice for two reasons: first, the British thought him to be an unintelligent person, this allowing them to hope for a strengthening of British control in Uganda and, second, they were convinced of Amin's total loyalty to London. It seems to me that in addition to this the British had hoped to use Amin as an instrument in making short work of the supporters of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist course. He has a wealth of such experience. Back in the 1950s in Kenya, when British troops were suppressing the Mau Mau movement, Sergeant Amin's cruelty earned him the nickname "the Strangler".

"But one thing surprises me about all this. Granted, the West got what it wanted—Amin destroyed a host of progressives. But in the process he totally disrupted the country and brought the contradictions between the various Ugandan ethnic groups to the extreme. In addition, he spoiled relations with the Western countries as well, and constantly insulted their leaders. Remember how he invited Henry Kissinger to come to Kampala and attend a course in political economy at Makerere University conducted by President Amin himself? But he gets away with everything."

Mukasa lapsed into silence again, waiting for what I would say to this. But what could I say? The dictator's humiliation of his people had reached the extreme and it seemed there would be no end to it.

But the West, which brought Amin to power, pretended to have nothing to do with his crimes. What is more, almost to the very last days of the Amin regime both Britain and the United States maintained active trade and economic relations with it, supplied it with arms and trained "cadres" for the secret police. The very fact that the West did not lift a finger to stop the Ugandan tragedy, which it itself had started, shows that it needed Amin. He was needed first of all to split African unity, to discredit the ideas of the liberation of Africans from colonialism.

A great deal is known about the British, US, and Israeli 'special services' involvement in the plot against President Obote. Much less is known about the fact that mercenaries, among them West German Rolf Steiner and Briton

Alexander Gay, were used in overthrowing Obote. The two were "veterans" of the former Belgian Congo and "Biafra". Besides being a mercenary, Gay was also an agent of the British M16 intelligence service. Prior to the coup in Uganda Steiner and Gay "worked" in Southern Sudan on the side of the Anyanya separatist movement, which had Israel's support.

Gay introduced Steiner to two other Britons, the former "diplomat" Beverly Bernard and Anthony Deval. The mercenaries settled in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, at the multi-storeyed Hotel Apollo. Steiner once overheard his British "colleagues" discussing themes remote from those of Southern Sudan. They were, in fact, discussing the overthrow of the Ugandan government. Steiner demanded that he be let in on their plans. Gay showed him documents drawn up by the British embassy in Kampala outlining the details of the plot. In his book, *The Last Adventurer*, Steiner wrote: "Blunden [Bernard's nom de guerre.—B. A.] told me that the British knew Idi Amin well and regarded him as the primary candidate because they considered him to be the most stupid and most controllable one".

Steiner comments: "Subsequent developments showed who was more stupid".

The plot was excellently engineered. Several days before the coup 700 British soldiers arrived in Kenya ostensibly for military exercises. But their help was not needed. Idi Amin coped with the task set before him himself. Uganda lapsed into the timelessness of a long night.

Any night, no matter how dark and terrifying, inevitably ends. In the spring of 1979 detachments of the National Liberation Front of Uganda with the support of the Tanzanian army saved the people of that country from the bloody regime. History has again proved the total hopelessness of attempts to stop its advance.

#### THE END OF THE "GRANDMASTER OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE".

The trial of the former dictator of Equatorial Guinea Francisco Macias Nguema lasted only three days. The materials submitted by the prosecution were irrefutable. The numerous crimes of Macias—unlawful arrests, murder of innocent people, embezzlement of state funds—were confirmed by documents and eye-witnesses. Nevertheless, when asked whether he pleaded guilty, Macias stubbornly replied: "Of course, not".

He still did not believe that he could be executed, explaining at length that he had taken money from the treasury because he was afraid of thieves, that he was surrounded by dishonest and greedy people. He was cheated,

<sup>1</sup> Britain severed diplomatic relations with Uganda in 1976.



although he loved his people very much and had done everything for them: built a presidential palace, roads to it, bridges across rivers, gave food to the hungry and homes to the homeless.

"Have you killed prisoners without investigation and trial?"

"No, I did not kill".

There was a smirk on the face of Ondo Ela, the former chief prison warden, who was sitting in the dock next to Macias—how many times had he been given presidential orders to kill individual prisoners or whole groups of them! The "master" also liked to be present when prisoners were tortured. Sometimes the "enemies of the people" were brought to the palace where he personally conducted the interrogation and chose the method of execution. After that his personal physician would register the death "as a result of heart failure".

When Macias came to power there were about 300,000 people in Equatorial Guinea. During his reign 50,000 were killed while another 100,000 fled the country fearing for their lives. For the remainder there were 5,000 political prisoners. It was very easy to get put in prison: it was enough to forget one of the dictator's numerous official titles or bow to his portrait. The detainees were kept in horrid conditions. Hungry dogs were let loose on them, they were put into chains and beaten to death with iron rods.

Who could have thought in 1968 that the quiet and nondescript official of the Spanish colonial administration would turn into a despot on being elected the first president of Equatorial Guinea and eventually wind up in the dock?

In his youth Francisco Macias was a calm and reasonable man. He was educated at a Catholic mission, enabling him to be appointed to a modest post which, however, was quite a decent one for an African. His superiors liked his humble obedience. True, sometimes he did express somewhat "left-leaning" thoughts, but nobody paid much attention, thinking that in a young man this would pass with time. When Francoist Spain had to part with its African territories, the colonial authorities were faced with the task of selecting local leaders who even after the proclamation of independence would display loyalty to the former metropolitan country. Macias was one of their choices.

His first resolve upon becoming president was to get rid of his opponents. In Madrid, the attitude to this was favourable: the strengthening of his power was viewed as a way to guarantee the security of Spanish interests. Macias banned all political parties and suspended the constitution. The number of his opponents dwindled steadily: they were caught and ruthlessly put to death.

The idea of sole and unlimited power took root in his mind. In 1972 he proclaimed himself "president for life". This title was gradually joined by other: "grandmaster of education, science and culture", "unique marvel", etc., 45 in all. The dictator demanded that he be glorified by all—from children to tottering old men. By a special decree he ordered the Catholic Church to mention him in sermons along with the Almighty. With time the already familiar slogan "God created Equatorial Guinea thanks to Macias" was found to be somewhat incorrect and changed to "There is no God but Macias".

At the time when Equatorial Guinea's economy was on the verge of bankruptcy, the newfangled "god" paid himself out of the treasury an annual "salary" of 2.5 million pounds. Before independence the harvests of cacao—the main export crop—reached 50,000 tons a year, but under Macias they dropped eventually to a mere 7,000 to 8,000 tons. Fishing boats were scuttled on his order: he feared that some day everybody would flee from Equatorial Guinea by boat, leaving him alone with himself. Fishermen would inflate tyre tubes, tie them with a rope to something on shore and fish from them in order to feed their hungry children.

During the last year of the "grandmaster's" rule there was no electricity even in the capital: the government could not find money to repair the power station. Neither was there money to pay salaries to civil servants. The vaults of all banks were empty and a huge lock hung on the doors of the ministry of finance. All stores in the towns were closed and markets ceased to function.

The country's economic plight did not worry Macias. In the plush palace in Malabo, behind its tall impenetrable walls, he was surrounded by loyal servants and bodyguards who were ready to beat the brains out of anyone who dared bother the "living god". In December 1976 about one hundred representatives of the country's public came to him with a plan of saving the economy from total collapse. The dictator attentively listened to them, nodding his head in consent, thanked them and then ordered them arrested. After tortures lasting for many days the initiators of the petition were killed in the prison. After that nobody ever again tried to discuss this subject with Macias.

Until the death of Franco the Spanish government maintained relations with Equatorial Guinea, gave it economic assistance and banned publication of any articles hostile to Macias. The other Western states also watched in silence what was happening in that African country. The American general Bruce Palmer wrote in a pamphlet entitled "US Security Interests in Africa to the

South of Sahara", published in 1978, a year before the overthrow of Macias, that despite some violations of civil rights Equatorial Guinea was a pro-Western country, from the viewpoint of political orientation. Such a description was sufficient enough for turning a blind eye to all of the ruling regime's crimes. Objectively its existence accorded with the aims of the neocolonialists and for this reason they were in no hurry to take any measures against the "tiger from Malabo", as Macias became to be called by his countrymen (this title, naturally, was not included among the 45 official ones).

The tyrant had no friends in Africa with the exception of Idi Amin and Bokassa. The three dictators even concluded between themselves agreements on military cooperation and at convenient occasions publicly acclaimed each other's "accomplishments".

Macias came to a bad end: he was the first head of state to be executed for genocide. The new government of Equatorial Guinea promised the people to restore law and order, carry out democratic reforms and improve the economic situation.

But how many years will be needed to heal the wounds left by the bloody regime! The nightmare experienced by the people of that country lasted for eleven years and memories of it will hardly be shortlived.

#### **"BARRACUDA" REMOVES THE EMPEROR**

In the summer of 1977 several well-known French and West German firms received a large and unusual order. Urgently needed were an emperor's crown decorated with 2,000 diamonds, 22 tons of pink champagne, 150 tons of wine, six custom-made Mercedes limousines at \$60,000 each, 44 ordinary Mercedes cars, and many other things. Huge transport planes left European airfields every day and set course for the south, for Africa. The cargo was intended for the Central African Empire, where preparations were in full swing for the ascension to the throne of the former captain of the French army Jean-Bédél Bokassa. On royal orders a golden throne in the form of a sitting eagle and weighing two tons was made. Leopard skin mantles with a crimson lining, made by the best masters in France, were placed in a special storage to wait for the great occasion. Beating restlessly with their hooves in stables were 130 snow-white thoroughbreds which were being trained by a famous French jockey for the upcoming royal cavalcade.

The guest list included the Pope, presidents and prime ministers—two thousand people in all.

The foundations of the future dynasty were being hastily laid. Bokassa's relatives were awarded titles of princes and princesses, his favourite wife (although a Catholic, the future emperor rejected monogamy) was proclaimed Empress Catherine, while a youthful crown prince was selected from among his thirty legitimate children.

Bokassa, at the time just a "president for life", hurried his ministers, repeating all the time that the ceremony should be a repeat, even in minute details, of the coronation of Napoleon—the idol of the Central African ruler. "I'll skin you alive if you miss anything", he kept warning them. The president's threats were taken literally: he really could order a man to be skinned alive, as he had done more than once with his political opponents.

The ministers did not fail him and the ceremony was a lavish one and held exactly on schedule. After the coronation the new monarch was driven in a golden coach through the streets of the Bangui, the capital. He greeted his subjects by waving a white-gloved hand gently, while a line of armed soldiers separated the "exultant people" from the emperor. But Bokassa's mood had been somewhat spoiled. The Pope had refused to come and personally place the crown on his head, while most of the potential guests simply ignored the invitation. To make matters worse, the crown prince succumbed to the heat and fell asleep on his small throne at the height of the ceremony.

The Central African Republic won full independence on August 12, 1960. David Dacko, who rose to the surface of the country's political life after the mysterious death in an air crash of Barthélemy Boganda, the leader of the liberation struggle in Central Africa, became the first president. Dacko ruled till December 31, 1965 when he was overthrown by his own uncle, Jean-Bédél Bokassa, a citizen of France who had served in its army for 23 years.

From the very first days Bokassa began to justify the trust of those who had ensured his coming to power. He dissolved the National Assembly, abolished the constitution, banned all political parties, announced that there would be no nationalisation whatsoever in his country and that he was ready to trade and cooperate with all "free nations", including South Africa. Subsequently the promise of "non-nationalisation" was formalised by a special decree.

Under Bokassa the people's life became one long nightmare. Arrests, beatings, searches and murder were daily occurrences. People were thrown behind bars on the slightest pretense, stoned to death, beaten to death or

maimed. Bokassa liked to call at the prison in the evening and "whet his skills" on inmates.

In 1976 he renamed his republic an empire and the following year proclaimed himself its "emperor". The coronation cost \$50 million and weighed down as a heavy additional burden on the shoulders of the people. The country's population of two million, illiterate, without rights and living in terrible poverty, could not express its protest openly, limiting itself to an unspoken hatred for the "father of the nation".

It was with the silent blessing of the then French government and the French monopolies that Bokassa became an emperor. President or emperor—what did it matter as long as he did not interfere with the siphoning off of profits and valuable industrial raw materials from the country. The bourgeois press wrote about the "eccentricities" of the Central African tyrant with mild humour.

In 1979 the "emperor" staged a mass slaughter of schoolchildren aged from 8 to 16 whose sole crime was their refusal to wear uniforms bearing a portrait of their "august" ruler. Bokassa accused the children of plotting against the monarchy and is reported to have personally taken part in the slaughter. The children were bayoneted to death or locked up in tiny cells where they died of suffocation.

When news of this crime reached the press the "emperor" feigned surprise: "What children? What murder? All the children are in schools. They are studying diligently and they all like me very much. They even call me Papa Bok."

But this time the people in the Elysee Palace realised that "Papa Bok" had overdone things. Such a grave charge against a leader to whom Paris and personally President Giscard d'Estaing were well disposed could inflict a serious blow to the prestige and interests of the former metropolitan country. Bokassa became too odious a figure. It was decided to replace him. After looking through its entire colonial pack of cards France drew the former "king"—David Dacko.

Operation "Barracuda" was hastily planned. The name of the operation was not a chance choice. This was the name of a French firm that manufactured camouflage materials for the French army. It was founded by a certain Jacques Focard, who for 15 years was an important secret agent of the French counter-intelligence, enjoyed the patronage of the President of France and played an important role in drafting plans of preserving French influence in the former African colonies.

<sup>2</sup> By analogy with the Haitian dictator François Duvalier, who was called "Papa Doc".

Focard's former assistant, René Jorgniac, became the initiator of the plan to overthrow Bokassa. Jorgniac, who held the post of presidential adviser on African affairs, was used in the fulfilment of "delicate" missions—in those cases when it was necessary to conceal the participation of France or to overtly remote a threat to French interests.

The plan drawn up by Elysee Palace provided for two variants. The first was to make Bokassa retire "voluntarily". Were he to refuse, French troops would land in Bangui and Dacko would be declared president.

The mission to "overthrow Bokassa peacefully" was entrusted to René Jorgniac, who emplaned on August 1, 1979 for Gabon where President Bongo had arranged for him to meet with Bokassa. Jorgniac presented to the emperor the French demands: he must abdicate and leave the country. In exchange he was guaranteed refuge and the retention of all his plundered wealth. But the obstinate monarch got mad and sent the envoy of Paris packing. Rumour has it that Bokassa had even resorted to physical force. On learning about this Giscard d'Estaing telephoned Bokassa but the latter slammed the receiver down and thereby sealed his fate.

On the night of September 20-21, 1979, three companies of French paratroopers landed at Bangui airport and quickly took control over all key installations. After that the new president—Dacko—was flown in from Gabon in the freight compartment of a French military plane. Mercy was shown to the overthrown emperor: he was flown out of the country in a military plane to the Ivory Coast, which agreed to grant him "political asylum".

Although the slaughter of schoolchildren served as the pretext for overthrowing Bokassa, the events, it seems, were precipitated by yet another very delicate circumstance: information had been leaked to the press that President Giscard d'Estaing had accepted very expensive gifts from the "emperor". It is said that when the French paratroopers landed in Bangui the first thing they did was to rush to Bokassa's chancellery where he kept important documents, including those compromising Giscard d'Estaing. Witnesses say that several boxes of "especially important" papers were taken to the French embassy. But some documents did fall into the hands of journalists. The magazine *Africa Now* reported in April 1981 that these documents proved that Bokassa had repeatedly "presented" diamonds to the French president and members of his family. Incidentally, one year after his overthrow the former "emperor" confirmed this himself when he called a

French newspaper from his refuge and declared: "I gave diamonds to the President three times and once to his wife... I also presented them to his nephews. You simply cannot imagine how much I had presented to that family", he added, "This is something simply impossible to imagine".

But of course Bokassa made his gifts not out of altruism. In exchange for the diamonds a cousin of the President, Jacques d'Estaing, helped finance the "emperor's" coronation. And he was the man who gave Bokassa the necessary consultations when the latter conceived the idea of forming an international consortium to mine uranium deposits in Bakouma. Another cousin of Giscard d'Estaing, François, who was the director of the French Bank of Foreign Trade, saw to it that the Central African Empire got loans on very easy terms.

On returning to power Dacko immediately followed in his uncle's footsteps. He surrounded himself with French advisers, established a regime of his personal dictatorship, introduced strict censorship and gave his masters much encouragement by stating that democracy in the Central African Republic would be restored not earlier than in ten years. In slightly under two years of rule he succeeded in ruining the country still further.

Discontent spread throughout the country. There were endless strikes, acts of terrorism by the opposition, demands for immediate changes. The crisis was mounting with every coming day. On September 1, 1981 Bangui radio announced a new "bloodless coup". This time the military came to power. A "Military Committee of National Rebirth" was founded to rule the country. It was headed by the Chief of Staff of the Army André Kolingba, whom Dacko granted

the country's highest military rank of general of the army in July. In his very first public statement he announced his intention to pursue a pro-Western policy.

General Kolingba contended that Dacko (incidentally, the first African president to be deposed twice) had surrendered supreme power to him "for reasons of health". It is clear, however, that the entire Central African society is sick: it had got itself into the mincer of neocolonialism which reduced the country to a state of permanent economic and political crisis.

Of course, the list of African tyrants is by far not exhausted by Amin, Macias and Bokassa. To this day there are countries in Africa whose population is suffering under the yoke of imperialism's henchmen. I chose only the most odious ones under whom terror acquired the scale of a national tragedy. They thought of themselves as major statesmen opening "new chapters" in the history of their countries and at the same time entered into covert and overt agreements with the most reactionary forces.

For them 1979 was a fateful year. One after another, the three dictators were removed from power.

These were regimes without a future, but the process of their disintegration was an extremely painful one, pushing back the development of these countries for many decades. By their actions the dictators discredited the national liberation struggle and inflicted no less damage to African unity than the forces of imperialism.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### BOOK ON PAKISTANI MUSLIM LEAGUE REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 p 62

[Review by V. Moskalenko, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Istoriya Musul'manskoy ligi Pakistana" (History of the Muslim League of Pakistan) by Yu. A. Ponomarev, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1982, 302 pp.]

[Text]

The reader may find it interesting to get acquainted with the first ever research in Oriental studies dealing with the activities of the Muslim League—a party that played a crucial role in the political life of South Asia in the colonial period and also in the national liberation movement of the peoples in the subcontinent. The party led the movement for the establishment of an independent state of Pakistan, and when that state emerged on the political scene the League became a leading political organisation in it.

The author examines various aspects of the League's activity against the background of concrete historical conditions and, as a rule, against the broad panorama of developments in the region and on the international scene.

Commendable in every way is the author's effort to give a comprehensive analysis of the problems under study and take into account the whole complex of objective and subjective factors. According to the author, the League's influence began to wax in the wartime, that is, shortly after the setbacks it suffered in the 1937 elections. The author ascribes this to the launching by the League of a movement for the establishment of an independent Muslim state and to the links that the movement had with the national liberation movements in British India (the movement of the Bengalis and the Punjab people, above

all). Another factor, the author believes, is the deteriorated conditions in the wartime for the work of other political parties.

The author emphasises the importance of a socio-political programme drawn up by the League, a programme that attracted broader sections of the Muslims to it. He draws attention to the activities of the League's provincial branches and governments led by it, which helped the party gain popularity among the masses.

The study deals at length with relations in the colonial time between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress—India's leading political party. Regrettably, it fails to give a complete picture of the formation and development of the left-wing of Muslim trends in Indian public thought.

The author shows that the leadership of the League used anti-colonialist sentiments of broader sections of the public to meet its own political ends. It played on religious, social and other difference between Muslims and Hindus and tried to conceal social and class antagonisms among Muslims. Thanks to this policy, the leaders of the League succeeded in winning over large sections of the Muslim population to their side. The author at the same time notes: those who were joining in the movement for an independent Pakistan linked with that movement the aspirations that



differed essentially from aims of other League members. These differences made themselves felt soon after the establishment of a Muslim state of Pakistan and led eventually to a crisis within the League that had become Pakistan's ruling party by that time. The Muslim League pursued a policy in the interests of the big bourgeoisie and rich landowners. That caused the discontent of the middle bourgeoisie and of the part of the landowners, and resulted in the formation of opposition parties. Soon the Muslim League lost its control of state power and by the middle of the 1950s it became one of the many parties in the country.

But as the author rightfully claims, the Muslim League continues to play an important role in the political life of Pakistan.

Of great interest is the analysis of the League's social basis, of its policy principles and structure. Yet, certain developments in the political situation in the country, the League's evolution, or, rather, the evolution of its factions in the 1970s are shown somewhat fragmentarily.

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BOOK ON ETHNIC INDIANS IN MALAYSIAN POLITICS REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 62-63

[A. Kolesnikov review of book "The Indian Minority and Political Change in Malaya 1945-1957," Kuala Lumpur--Oxford, 1981, 260 pp]

[Text]

The transition to independence is one of the most important and turbulent periods in the history of Malaya. During these years the foundations of the present-day political structure were laid and the peculiarities of the country's social life took shape. Also in this period the influence of relations between different ethnic groups on the liberation movement and Malaya's political development was particularly strong. Indian workers and members of the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia played a significant role in this process. Their activity is the subject of the monograph under review. The author sets the task of analysing the evolution of the Indian community in Malaya with due regard for the political changes in the country and the class and ethnic differentiation.

The author justly admits that the Communist Party (CPM) became the motive political force in Malaya in the early postwar years, and traces the contacts the CPM and Indian workers maintained through the National Federation of Trade Unions and mass organisations guided by it (pp. 49-50).

The author, after analysing the data on Indians' participation in strikes and the armed struggle under the leadership of the CPM in 1945-1948 draws rather contradictory conclusions. On the one hand, he sees the main reason for the Indian workers' support of the CPM in the "vacuum of leadership", in

the departure to India of a part of the leadership of the League of Independence. On the other, Ampalavanar contends that the CPM owes its mounting influence to the desperate condition of the working people, unemployment, inflation, repressions by British authorities and their impotence to improve the living conditions of the working people (p. 46).

Obviously, the author's desire to be objective comes in conflict with his bourgeois outlook.

This discrepancy is also characteristic of the assessment of the activities of Malaya's communists and the role played by the progressive forces.

At the same time, Ampalavanar persuasively exposes the manoeuvres of the British colonialists who supported bourgeois parties in their struggle against the left forces. Much attention is paid to the activity of Indian political organisations in Malaya, above all the Indian Congress of Malaya (ICM). The author provides data testifying to the ICM being a very heterogeneous organisation, both politically and socially, one marked by contradictions between its centre and local (regional) branches.

The author failed to present a coherent and scientific analysis of interaction between national and social factors. Nevertheless, his monograph contains extensive factual material which can be of great importance in the study of the above-mentioned subject.

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KUTSENKOV BOOK ON INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 63-64

[Review by N. Simoniya, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Evolyutsiya indiyskoy kasti" (The Evolution of Indian Caste) by A.A. Kutsenkov, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1983, 326 pp]

[Text]

The monograph under review is a comprehensive analysis of the caste phenomenon in India made in a historical retrospective from the point of view of its essence and functions. The range of problems examined by the author and the detailed historiographic survey make it an encyclopaedic work in the sense that it records what is known on the subject and outlines the "white spots" of the problem. At the same time (and this is the chief merit of the monograph) the author, using the Marxist-Leninist methodology, theoretically generalises the factual material accumulated by the early 1980s and sets forth his own view on the nature of the caste, its origin and evolution up to the present time.

From the chaos of concrete historical manifestations of the caste phenomenon he first singles out the generalised model of the traditional caste which contains the essential traits predetermined by economic, social and cultural factors of pre-capitalist society. Then the author analyses the changes the caste underwent in the course of development of Indian society. In conclusion Kutsenkov examines a new and most important, under present conditions, function of the caste, the political one, and the influence of the political factor on the caste inner structure.

The author traces the evolution of the caste and the changes in its structure and functions owing to the alienation of the once integrated elements (the intracaste ties) and their turning into opposites. He reveals the contradictory and complicated character of

the evolution of the caste at the current historical stage, which manifests itself in the transformation and initial decomposition of the traditional caste, on the one hand, and the invigoration of certain forms of the caste activity in India's public life, on the other. This seeming contradiction is the subject of many discussions, heated disputes and sometimes diametrically opposite opinions on the future of the caste, its place and role under present conditions.

The author approaches the phenomenon of the traditional caste as the combination and dovetailing of two components: the natural or blood ties which are primary, and the economic or production ties which are secondary. This allowed him to trace the complicated process of the evolution of the caste, in the course of which (as Indian society advances from its traditional state to capitalism) these components tend to disintegrate. "Both of the mentioned elements, natural and social, are no longer a single whole," the author notes. "They have disintegrated and formed independent ties. The character of their combination has changed radically—the organic combination gave way to structural, and homogeneous to heterogeneous. The changed combination of the primary (related) and secondary (social) factors rendered the structure of the caste ties less rigid and more flexible, with each element acquiring more freedom and more possibilities for self-development" (pp. 205-206).

Kutsenkov shows that social ties within the caste are most flexible and

that, given present conditions, the caste has in some respect departed from its traditional functions and assumed a new role.

At the same time the ties of kinship are stable and highly resistant to the influence of social forces. The ability of the caste to disunite its primary and secondary ties, to transform the latter while retaining the former, explains the stability of the caste and its adaptability to diverse historical conditions.

It appears that the importance of Kutsenkov's method of dividing the ties within the caste into the primary and secondary is, among other things, in that the author examines the problem of the caste in the light of interdependence between its civilisation and formation aspects. Indeed, the caste as a phenomenon of the civilisation emerged at the early stages of Indian society and has been preserved to our day. But during the historical development the civilisation aspect of the caste closely intertwined with the formation aspect which is different in each epoch. This prompts the conclusion that the caste as a formation phenomenon is disintegrating and its social content is radically changing, slowly but steadily becoming bourgeois.

However, the caste as a phenomenon of the civilisation is marked by stability and adaptability and is even gaining ground with a view to get involved into the system of bourgeois social relations. The latter circumstance will ultimately spell the ruin of the caste, though as a specific form of community of definite groups of people it will most probably exist up to the final stage of bourgeois formation development. One example is present-day imperialist Japan, where a number of traditionalist traits of old have hitherto survived.

The stumbling block of many scholars, in our opinion, is in the fact that they ignore the state of the two above-mentioned aspects of the phenomenon of the caste. They note the process of politisation of the caste (which is on the surface of India's public life) and, in turn, the "casteisation of politics" and conclude wrongly that the caste as such is becoming stronger. What is taking place in reality is the intensification of political activity of the caste as its reaction to bourgeois modernisation rather than the strengthening of the caste as a traditional institution. Subjectively this is a reaction of self-defence and self-promotion of the caste, but being an outward factor, it should not conceal both the objective and more deep-going process of undermining the basis of the caste as an outdated traditional

institution, and the progressing destruction of its previous secondary or socio-economic ties and functions

The author pays much attention to the process of modification and disintegration of the traditional caste in the conditions of developing bourgeois society. He examines three types of political mobilisation of members of caste communities, which correspond to the stages of the evolution of the caste (we should add, and the stages of its decay): vertical, horizontal and differential. The first type is characteristic of the most traditionalist castes, i. e., the less eroded. Such a caste organisation (or formally non-organised caste) is an object of manipulations "from above" in the political struggle. Politics has not yet become their independent function. This is why Kutsenkov calls them "castes in themselves". This analogy, however, seems rather far-fetched. The well-known expressions by Marx about the "class in itself" and the "class for itself" are formation categories and reflect the state of a social community at specific stages of an upward formation development. The point at issue in the monograph under review is not an upward development of the caste as a social community but its disintegration and a by-stage assimilation of elements of new (bourgeois) political culture.

The second type of mobilisation, horizontal, concerns the caste's turning into a subject of politics. This is an intermediate form and an intermediate stage of disintegration of the traditional caste. The author believes that it will exist "as long as the forces of the caste solidarity dominate the forces of social differentiation. As differentiation aggravates, the time inevitably comes when political factions emerge within the caste, whose interests become irreconcilable. On certain political issues the factions disobey the caste bodies of power. The caste ceases to exist as a single political force" (p. 286). As a result horizontal mobilisation gives way to differential. An individual becomes released from the authoritarian power of his group. The author justly notes that "precisely at this stage of development of a caste organisation an individual may become a class phenomenon". At the same time the processes taking place at this stage signify "the transfer by the caste of its political functions to a class" (p. 290).

One cannot but agree with the author that it will take much time to complete the ongoing processes, which presupposes vast changes in society, the erosion of pre-capitalist structures, their absorption by the capitalist system, etc. But the author is also right

in asserting that this is the direction of social development today.

The monograph is useful in specifying the genuine place and historical meaning of increasing "casteisation of politics" in the early decades of independence, a fact widely discussed by scholars and politicians. In our opinion, this reflects the acceleration and intensification of bourgeois modernisation rather than the consolidation or revival of traditionalism. The process of modernisation spreads to ever broader traditionalist structures of society, causing the most diverse reaction on their part, from violent protests and rejection of the new tendency to a desire to obtain better positions under a new social order. The involvement of traditionalist or semi-traditionalist oriented masses into politics on a larger scale also signifies the creation of prerequisites for further shattering the foundations of traditionalism. In this sense the strengthening of "casteism in politics" is symptomatic of an accelerated decay of the caste.

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BOOK ASSAILING ISRAELI DOMESTIC POLICIES REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 84 p 64

[Review by L. Dadiani, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Gosudarstvo Izrail': ekonomika i politika" (The State of Israel: Economy and Politics), b Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1982, 198 pp]

[Text]

The monograph, a collective work by a team of scholars, opens with an article by S. Sergheev, entitled "Israel in the System of International Zionism". Starting off with this article is quite natural since one cannot fully understand Israel's reality without taking account of the contacts and relations of Israel's top leaders with international Zionist organisations.

Of much interest is the notion (which needs further elaboration) that the system of international Zionism is "a complex of Jewish bourgeois-nationalistic organisations which fully or partially share Zionist ideology" (p. 46). The author makes a just conclusion that "along with US Zionists, Israeli Zionists comprise a duumvirate in the organisational structure of present-day Zionism" (p. 47).

In his article, "Socio-Economic Structure of Israel", B. Yamilinets points out that Israel has embarked "on an accelerated capitalist development largely under the influence of external factors" (p. 62). He graphically shows that this process is accompanied by the concentration of production and capital in the national

economy, with state-monopoly capitalism retaining some peculiar traits.

"The Role of the Israeli War Industry in World Capitalist Production" by G. Sukhachev deals with the development and present-day condition of the Israeli military-industrial complex. The author notes the crucial role of the US economic and military aid in Israel's growing military potential. He points out the permanent interest on the part of the Pentagon and US military-industrial quarters in "making Israel an outlying Middle East base for the joint development and manufacture of new systems of arms and military hardware, with the subsequent testing and marketing of them" (p. 81).

In his article "On 'Kibbutzian Socialism'", A. Shumilin shows that kibbutzim are not a "microcell of socialism" as social-Zionist propaganda contends, but that they have become "purely capitalist economically, remaining highly instrumental for Zionist expansion, whose aim is to extend Israel's borders by seizing and developing the territories of neighbouring Arab states" (pp. 108-109). The process of "Judaisation" of Arab lands is

the subject of L. Barkovsky's article, "The Arab Population in Israel".

An alternative to the reactionary policy pursued by the ruling circles is set forth by the Israeli communists who, given the hard conditions, courageously oppose the ideology and political activities of Zionism. I. Lisitsina, in her article, "The Communist Party of Israel in the Late 1970s and Early 1980s", talks about the growing activity of the progressive and peace-loving forces in Israel who have joined together under the leadership of communists within the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

The monograph has certain shortcomings, and the range of problems tackled by the authors is far from complete. For example, no mention is made of the crucial aspects of Israel's foreign policy, of the question of the collapse of the myth about the "Promised Land". More attention should have been directed to the exposure of the anti-Sovietism that prevails in the policy of Israel's leadership. Several articles are to a certain extent of a reference nature. But on the whole the monograph is of much use.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### WRITERS UNION OFFICIAL HITS U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD UNESCO

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 5 Apr 84 pp 1,7

[Article by N. Fedorenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers, in the column: "Authoritative Opinion": "Responsibility Before the Future"]

[Excerpt] Not long ago a statement was heard from the sanctums of the White House that the American Administration has adopted a decision on the withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

This is not the first hostile action by Washington with respect to the world community. For a long time the U.S. ruling circles have been swinging the ax and cutting the threads which connect America with the United Nations Organization.

Let us recall that the chronicles list the U.S. attempt to leave this organization in 1954, when the country was gripped by the hysteria of McCarthyism--the infamous "witch-hunt." The most astonishing discovery was that the "anti-American witches" were hiding at the UNESCO Headquarters. Washington immediately demanded that the unreliable be expelled, but the organization did not show a "spirit of cooperation."

In the latter part of 1977, the J. Carter Administration officially announced of the United State's withdrawal from the International Labor Organization (ILO). Washington's irritation at that time was aroused by the ILO adopting important documents which condemned the policy of the imperialist and neocolonialist circles. To be sure, since this blackmail did not achieve its goal, representatives of the United States were compelled to return to the ILO.

In the autumn of 1982, the R. Reagan Administration used flagrant pressure with respect to the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], which was formed under the aegis of the United Nations. The reason? Washington's reaction to Israel, which subjected the Iraqi nuclear research center to bombardment, being deprived of its powers at the 26th session of this organization's general conference. The American delegation left the session at that time, and Washington soon announced the suspension of its payments to the fund of the

International Atomic Energy Agency and its intention to withdraw from the agency. But the adventure using the methods of force did not succeed again this time. Another "soap opera" came to an end. In the spring of 1983, the United States was again compelled to renew its payments to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In 1983, Washington, which suffers from an itch to improve "democracy" and human rights beyond other people's fence, boycotted the World Conference on the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination which was held in Geneva under the aegis of the United Nations. In October 1983, the U.S. State Department resorted to a new threat: if the plenary powers examination committee recommends that Israel be expelled from the United Nations for systematic violations of the organization's Charter, the United States will refuse to participate in the work of the General Assembly Session and will also suspend payments to UN funds. Somewhat later, J. Kirkpatrick, American permanent representative to the United Nations, repeatedly hurled demagogic speeches and crude attacks against the activity of this organization. Things got to the point where C. Lichenstein, a member of the American delegation to the United Nations, suggested quite plainly to the "displeased" UN member countries to "seriously consider the question" of evacuating the headquarters of the world organization to some other country... C. Lichenstein defiantly added that he will be happy to come to the port to bid farewell to all diplomats leaving the United States... After that the Conciliation Committee of the Congress immediately decided to use sanctions: to freeze for 1 year the financial payments by the United States to UN funds at the 1983 level...

Washington's "dollar weapon," as well as its ultimatum to withdraw from the UNESCO, is nothing less than blackmail with respect to the United Nations as a whole. The newspaper PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER wrote in this connection: "The circles, which pronounced an anathema against the United Nations, are voicing the hope that the U.S. withdrawal from the UNESCO will serve as a signal for possible renunciation of membership in the UN Organization itself."

And so the United States decided to withdraw from the UNESCO, but not from military blocs and aggressive pacts. Washington not only has no intention of abandoning them, but is striving in every way possible to form new military alliances and organizations by allocating monstrous funds for these purposes. The stirring up of the thermonuclear arms race and the supercharging of the anticommunist hysteria insatiably consumes ever new billions of dollars, which are allocated to the Pentagon at the expense of the already reduced sums needed for the spiritual upbringing and development of the American population. It is highly significant that the Pentagon, striving to inject a dose of optimism, announced with pride recently the most massive replenishment of army barracks in the past 10 years. Already for a long time the United States have not experienced such a chauvinistic intoxication as they do today.

It is becoming increasingly obvious to millions of people that the imperial course of the U.S. Administration, which considers the whole world as its sovereign possessions and regards itself as having a right to impose the norms of life on others, is the source of tension.

Not everything, however, is subject to the gendarme force and international robbery. It is true that, under the cover of demagoguery on democracy and human rights, success is possible in occupying insular Grenada and in barbarically hurling a barrage of U.S. Navy ship-based artillery fire at residential sections of the long-suffering Beirut. For the time being success is possible in the use of armed violence, reckless adventurism, provocation and terror with regard to Latin American countries... In plying the skies of sovereign states in spy planes by violating airspace borders... Much is still allowed to itself by the Washington Administration, which, it appears, endeavors to liken itself to Nero, who burned Rome down in order to admire the fire. It seems that the cannibalistic spectacle of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which burned down in the fire of American nuclear explosion, is not enough. There is no lack of people in the world who strive to destroy that which was created by man.

The orgy of German nazism, which burned books on bonfires in a Berlin square in 1933, instinctively comes to mind. The smoke fumes and the bloody trail from the blazing bonfires stretched out to the death ovens of Buchenwald and to the gas chambers of Auschwitz, to the nightmares of Rotterdam and Coventry and across mountains of corpses to Stalingrad, until the tongues of fire returned to the place where they blazed up. This is the way it was in the recent past. Those who are forgetting the lessons of history should be reminded of this.

Edward Teller, who is rather well known, strives to convince Americans that an atomic war is not that terrible at all and that it will not lead to a total catastrophe. This "prophet" gets to the point of claiming that Americans will be able to recover completely after a thermonuclear nightmare... Should the concerns of a scientist be about this? The epoch of palm readers and oracles has sunk into oblivion long time ago and for good. Mankind cannot live by old notions. It is necessary to have a new world outlook, new thought: it is a question of renunciation of the categories of force, intimidation and bloodshed. It is a question of establishing firmly the categories of common sense and mutual security and trust.

As noted in a speech before voters by K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, we already at any time to agree to with other nuclear powers on certain norms of interrelationship and attaching to them an accommodating character. This would meet fundamental interests not only of participating countries, but peoples of the entire world.

It is necessary to note in particular the most important role of scientists--the people who more than anyone else are aware of the inexhaustible potentials of science, creative as well as destructive. The well-known Russel-Einstein manifesto contains an understanding of the distinction of a scientist's responsibility for the preservation of mankind and the civilization created by it. "We must learn to think in another way, we must learn to ask ourselves not what steps must be taken for achieving military victory of the camp to which we belong, because such steps no longer exist and we must ask ourselves another question: what steps can be taken for the prevention of an armed struggle whose outcome will be catastrophic for all of its participants."



Ensuing from this is precisely the fact that a scientist's responsibility before society especially increases in our time in connection with a rise of the well-known contradiction between opportunities for further development of sciences, which contribute to technical progress, and restrictions of this development, which in the final analysis are connected with the senseless and dangerous diversion of enormous funds and resources to the arms race. The world should know what science can achieve if these funds and resources would be placed at its disposal and what serves as an obstacle along this path. It is the absolute duty of scientists to constantly inform peoples of the situation that is developing here and to unite all their forces in the cause of the struggle for peaceful future of mankind.

In February this year, the UNESCO press service, among whose members are 161 states, distributed a document in Paris which was entitled "UNESCO As It Is."

The main task of the UNESCO, the document points out, is to assist in the development of cooperation among countries, concentrating its attention in such fields as education, science, culture and information. The fact that the UNESCO is the largest of all organizations in the UN system as regards the number of participating countries, testifies to the importance which they attach to its activity. Authors of the document cite specific data on the results of this activity. Thus during the 1979-83 period, 15 million illiterate people were educated with help from the UNESCO, the UNESCO trained 30,000 teachers in 1980 alone.

Attention is devoted to the importance of the organization's activity in preserving historical and architectural monuments and to the significance of scientific programs developed by it.

The UNESCO was formed for the purpose of establishing peace on the basis of intellectual and moral solidarity of people.

Clause one of UNESCO's regulations, the document points out, sets as its main task to promote the preservation of peace and security by strengthening with the help of education, science and culture the cooperation among countries for the purpose of ensuring universal respect of justice and law, human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people without discrimination as to race, sex, language or religion.

However, some people in the United States adhere to another opinion. An article in the NEW YORK TIMES is worthy of attention. Its author Owen Harris frankly writes: "The UNESCO is a completely politicized institution which attacks fundamental values, interests and institutions. This organization describes Western culture as an 'imperialist' threat to the national originality of other peoples. It criticizes the West's free market economy and transnational corporations. Its statements on complex and delicate problems of peace and disarmament, in which it is unqualified, are characterized by prejudices and hostility with regard to the West."

However, documentary evidence, which reflects the UNESCO's true activity, refutes the tendentious statements of American representatives. It is extremely

paradoxical that one country--the United States--strives to prove that it is the only one which is right and all of the other 160 states--members of the UNESCO--are not in step and wrong... Thus, the resolutions adopted according to general agreement particularly stress that "international cultural cooperation is the basic element of drawing together among people, mutual understanding among people, cooperation among states and strengthening of peace if it is based upon true recognition of equal dignity of all cultures, respect of independence and sovereignty of all countries, noninterference in their internal affairs and a quest for reciprocity in exchanges."

It is invariably stated in UNESCO decisions that "cooperation of the peoples of the world in the field of education, science and culture should lead to the achievement of international peace and general well-being of mankind."

The recommendations adopted by corresponding commissions point out, for example, that the "UNESCO must play a leading role in the renewal of cultural life so that culture would become an important component in the life and development of individuals as well as society and also a basis for new forms of international cooperation." They say of the necessity, based on the "Cultural Heritage" Program, to continue effective measures aimed at preserving the immovable cultural heritage, especially within the framework of international campaigns aimed at safeguarding and popularizing historic monuments, sections and sites, which are regarded as important components of mankind's general heritage.

Without the past there is no present... The importance of preserving cultural heritage is pointed out by the fact that any contemporary researcher turns to history, the bygone times because he is deeply disturbed by today's problems. A scientist is driven by an urge to reconstruct from various aspects and sides based on the chronicled material the artistic destiny of peoples of various lands as a many-sided history of opposition of good and evil, thought and stagnation and progress and resistance to change.

The UNESCO and its commissions constantly devote central attention to problems such as "Culture and the Future," "Cultural Originality and Relations Between Cultures," "Creation and Creative Activity," "Development of Culture and Politics in the Field of Culture," "Return of Cultural Valuables to Countries of Their Origin," "International Celebration of Anniversaries of Historical and Cultural Events of Various Peoples" and "Celebration of Anniversaries of Great People and Events Which Have Left a Deep Mark in the Development of Human Society."

This description helps in understanding that UNESCO's problems and activities are extremely important, relevant and constructive. They are completely directed at improving cultural and scientific development, creative confirmation of originality and enrichment of cultures and better and more extensive utilization of latest scientific and technical achievements according to the needs and requirements of every country. They also pursue a quest for new, more effective forms of cultural and scientific cooperation for the purpose of further developing and enriching national cultures, strengthening scientific potential, especially of developing countries, and strengthening mutual understanding and trust among countries and peoples.

A great role in establishing mutual understanding and cooperation among peoples in the struggle for peace and removal of the threat of war belongs to the means of mass information. Therefore, we understand the attention which is being devoted by the UNESCO to establishing a system of a new international order that contributes to the elimination of the "informational imperialism" and dominance of Western monopolies in this sphere.

All of this gives rise to contradictions and incompatibility with the American policy of expansionism and the aggressive and neocolonialist orientation of Washington's policy. The latter-day "crusaders" are striving by all means to hold back the process of national and social revival, especially of developing countries, preserve their domination, ensure themselves a monopoly position and force their hegemony upon the world.

One can often hear that the United States is always in quest of truth... If this is indeed so, then so far there is nothing to congratulate it on.

"Even in the present, extremely tense international atmosphere," said K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "we state it clearly: The Soviet Union will continue its policy of peace--a stable and just peace for all peoples, both great and minor. We also confirm our readiness for talks, but for honest talks, on the basis of equality and identical security. Threats cannot frighten us. Our defense is strong and we will be able to defend everything that was achieved through the labor of the Soviet people."

A natural conclusion ensues from this: those who pursue a policy of militarism, an insane arms race and interference in the internal affairs of other states should abandon such policy and replace it with a policy of peace and cooperation.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### CONFESSIONAL BASIS OF LEBANESE POLITICS SEEN AS CAUSE OF PROBLEMS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 84 p 5

[Article by Pavel Demchenko: "An Entanglement of Complex Problems"]

[Text] PRAVDA readers D. I. Karpyak from L'vov Oblast, P. S. Tikhonov from Leningrad and many others ask us to address the characteristic features of the political structure in Lebanon and why a sharp internal war has been going on there for many years.

It is a comparatively small Arab country with an area of 10,400,000 sq. km and with a population of approximately 3 million people (currently, it is simply impossible to state a more exact number) which, lately, happened to be in the center of serious international events that have been receiving a great deal of attention in the world press.

Historically, it so happened that in that little territory now occupied by Lebanon live representatives of more than 15 religious trends, churches and sects. Also, a historical reality of this sort is the fact that during many centuries -- during the time of the Ottomans as well as French colonial rule -- the rulers strove to have the supporters of various religious convictions not only not unite but, vice versa, to live separately and quarrel with each other.

All this led to such a situation that, from the moment Lebanon gained independence in 1943, the power within the country began to form on the basis of confessionalism; that is not on the party, but on the religious principle. Because of this, the number of the communities' members was approximately determined, and since then, no census has been carried out. Overall, Christians were considered to be more numerous than Muslims; this is why, in parliament, 6 Christian deputies were elected for every 5 Muslims. It was also determined that only a Catholic-Maronite could become the president of the country and the commander of the army, and a Muslim-Sunni--prime minister, and a Shiite -- the parliament chairman. The Druze (representatives of one of the more extreme branches of Shiism) would be allotted, as a rule, the defense minister's or the internal affairs minister's post, and a Greek Orthodox -- also one minister post, etc.

This situation not only led to clan strengthening within the Lebanese society



but also created a number of socio-economic problems that sharpened class inequality and the political antagonisms, although it would have seemed that, in time, the feudal-religious frameworks would have started to crumble. Several tens of political parties formed in the country. Some of those, similar to the national-liberal and Kataib- represent Maronites and the Amal organization -- Shiites; there are also two or three Armenian parties. Along with these, there are also parties and organizations that act on a non-religious basis. For instance, the communist party, PASV, etc. belong to these. The progressive-socialist party (PSP) that first emerged as a purely Druze party, also gradually found supporters among other population groups. Some parties, as well as the leaders of the majority of the religious communities, acquired their own armed detachments, the significance of which especially increased after the Lebanese army practically fell apart in the course of the country's civil war that had started in 1976.

As early as the late 1950's, the demands sounded in Lebanon for the total liquidation of confessionalism or at least for the representation in the organs of power to be brought to correspond to the real population composition; in particular, the noticeable increase in Shiite and Druze communities being taken into consideration. These demands were decisively rejected by those circles of the large bourgeoisie and those feudal clans to whom the current system gave political and economic advantages. On this basis, armed confrontations broke out in the country; for instance, in 1958, 1969, 1975-1976. Together with this one should keep in mind that the religious problems were not always in the foreground, but political, social, and among others, the Palestinian question.

The Israelis, as well as the Americans and the French, practically gambled on the same communities in Lebanon and supplied them with arms, thus attempting to achieve strengthening of their own political positions. The affair turned out to be an embarrassment, despite the fact that the U.S. involved itself in the Lebanese conflict by shooting at the Druze and the Amal organizations' positions. The soldiers of the re-created Lebanese army sometimes refused to shoot at their fellow countrymen. The Lebanese-Israeli agreement, imposed by Washington, was abrogated. The "multi-national forces" belonging to the U.S, France, Italy, and England, were forced to leave Lebanon.

This, again, gave them the chance to call together the conference for national reconciliation in which, along with the Lebanese rival sides, the representatives of Syria and Saudi Arabia also took part. The opinions were divided; for instance, the leader of PSP W. Junblatt, demanded the liquidation of confessionalism while the right-wing Christian block spoke for the preservation of the existing system. Finally, they managed to achieve a compromise: it was decided that, primarily, security in the country should be restored and the necessity of carrying out reforms should be recognized. A commission was created, led by President Jumayyil, which will work out the design of a new constitution.

Thus, a step was made toward the normalization of the internal situation, although, unfortunately, mostly on paper: thus far they have not been able to achieve a cease fire or to reverse the developing events from confrontation to collaboration. To do so in Lebanon, where the conflicts are old and blood-washed, is not simple. Even more so, they still have to get rid of the Israelis occupying the southern part of the country and American intervention in its internal affairs.



## INTERNATIONAL

### TURKMENS AID AFGHAN DESERT RECLAMATION RESEARCH

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 23 Mar 84 p 3

[Article: "Experience -- to Our Afghan Friends"]

[Text] The Turkmen scientists share their experience in the agricultural mastery of desert territories with their Afghan friends.

In the fall of last year, for the purpose of providing scientific-methodological assistance to the Center of Natural Sciences at the DRA Academy of Sciences in their research on the introduction and acclimation of the most valuable agricultural species, N.K. Lalymenko, the director of Nebit-Dag agro-reclamational station of the Desert Institute of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences, visited Afghanistan.

In the course of a month, the scientist familiarized himself with the work of Afghan scientists, the natural conditions and the resources of the territory which is, in many ways, similar to Turkmenistan.

On the basis of the materials from the trip, they put together a program for the immediate work on studying and cultivating land in Afghanistan.

"The establishment of the Center of Natural Sciences at the DRA Academy of Sciences is taking place at difficult time for the republic," N.K. Lalymenko said. "The Center is insufficiently equipped with specialist and does not have the necessary foundation. There are only three institutes in its structure -- botany, zoology and genetics. However, the Afghan scientists have already started to develop the research work in collaboration with the scientists and experts of the departmental institutes and the institutions of higher learning in the DRA. We have worked out and recommended to the Center of Natural Sciences at the DRA Academy of Sciences the basic directions for the immediate research on the integrated study of biological resources of the country and the increase in the agricultural effectiveness."

In our country, in particular in Turkmenistan, they have accumulated no small experience in the agricultural cultivation of desert territories. Our selectionists have raised the types and hybrids of grain and fodder species adapted for growing on irrigated and sandy lands, and the kinds of fodder plants for improving the natural desert grazing lands and for the phyto-land reclamation of sandy lands. We have prepared a list of these plants for the DRA scientists; we will familiarize them with the work methodology for raising various plant species. The collaboration of the Soviet and Afghan scientists in the area of land cultivation is beneficial for both countries.

## REGIONAL

### GEORGIAN CC CP BURO ON FIRST TWO MONTHS OF REPUBLIC ECONOMIC PLAN

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Mar 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party"]

[Text] The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro at its scheduled meeting furnished the results of the fulfillment of the plan for economic and social development of the republic in the first 2 months of this year. It was noted that the economy of the republic is developing soundly and at a rapid tempo. The plan for production of manufactured goods was fulfilled by 103.1 percent, and its sale, by 102.8 percent. Production was 48.5 million rubles above plan. The volume of industrial production in comparison to the corresponding period of last year rose by 8.2 percent with a planned task of 5.3 percent and socialist pledges made of 6.1 percent.

In addition, attention was paid to the unsatisfactory work of several enterprises and associations in the fulfillment of the 2-month plan for production and sale of industrial production. Measures were signed for elimination of the lagging which had been tolerated.

The problem of reasons for a decrease in milk production and the worsening of several indexes of animal husbandry in the Telavskiy and Tsalskiy Rayons was examined. The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro recognized the work conducted by the party, Soviet and agricultural organs of the named rayons as being deficient in increasing production of animal husbandry products and signed a number of measures directed toward the eradication of these deficiencies.

Information was received on the results of a study involving the first secretaries of gorkoms, raykoms, the corresponding workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee and Georgian CP obkoms in the center, on the raising of the qualifications of party, Soviet and economic leaders in the Georgian CP Central Committee.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro adopted decisions on measures for the jubilee celebrating the 150th anniversary of the birth of the great Georgian writer and a distinguished public worker, Ivan Chavchavadze.

A decision was also adopted on the further development of Soviet theater art in Georgia. A statement concerning the decision will be published.

The Georgia CP Central Committee, looking at the problem of the results of the fulfillment of the export orders for the output of production-technical significance by enterprises of the republic for 1983 and January 1984, noted that the absolute majority of exporter enterprises fulfilled the delivery plans. At the same time individual enterprises did not provide for the manufacture of export production. The Georgian CP Central Committee imposed severe penalties on the leaders and secretaries of the party organizations of these enterprises. Measures were determined according to the provision of absolute fulfillment of the plan for export delivery.

The Secretariat of the Georgian CP Central Committee, while looking into the work of the republic's scientific and medical societies of therapists surgeons, pediatricians and obstetricians-gynecologists according to the increase in responsibility of doctors in the matter of improving medical care for the population of the GeSSR, acknowledged the deficiency in their activity in this regard. It was proposed to the Ministry of Health that specific measures for activation of the work of scientific-medical societies be developed and presented.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Secretariat adopted a decree on critical remarks and proposals expressed at the 15th and 16th plenums of the republic's CP Central Committee.

At the meetings of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat, other problems of national economic and social life of the republic were also examined.

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CSO: 1830/397

## REGIONAL

### INTER-REPUBLIC ATHEISM CONFERENCE IN ASHKHABAD

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 15 May 84 carries on page 1 a 150-word "Turkmeninform" news agency report on a two-day session begun on 14 May 1984 in Ashkhabad of the scientific-coordinating council from the Tashkent Inter-Republic Branch of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences.

Secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee M. Mollayeva delivered a report titled "The Atheistic Training of Women: An Important Factor in Raising Their Role in Communist Construction, in the Light of the Decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee."

Director of the Tashkent Inter-Republic Branch of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences A. Kuchkarov spoke on "Certain Problems in the Organizing Atheistic Training Among Women."

E.I. Lisavtsev, consultant from the CPSU Central Committee's Propaganda Department, participated in the work of the session; as did R.A. Bazarova, deputy chairperson of the Turkmen Council of Ministers; and R. Karayev, A.A. Karliyeva, and E. Ovlyakuliyev--department heads in the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee.

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## REGIONAL

### LIVING QUARTERS SHORTAGE FOR TASHKENT AVIATION WORKERS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 April 1984 carries on page 3 an 800-word article by jurist E. Danilov and journalist Sh. Zaynutdinov entitled "The History of a Litigation."

The unexpected refusal of a 37-year veteran worker of the Uzbek Civil Aviation Administration to move to a new apartment (he had hoped to obtain permission for himself and his family to occupy two more rooms of the four-room communal apartment he had inhabited for 26 years as soon as the most recent co-occupants moved) prompted a court procedure in 1983.

The chronicling of events surrounding the ensuing litigation concludes with the statement that over 1,000 families of the Uzbek [Civil Aviation] Administration are on the waiting list to receive living quarters; of these, one-third work at the Tashkent Airport. The resultant worker turnover is blamed on the Tashkent City Executive Committee and the Ministry of Civil Aviation.

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## REGIONAL

### UZBEKS' LONG-RANGE ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION PROGRAM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 April 1984 carries on page 2 a 250-word announcement of the completion of a long-range, comprehensive program for protection of the republic's environment which was worked out by scientists of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences' Council for the Study of Production Forces. The new plan involves measures calculated to counter the effects of intensive growth in the republic population centers of Tashkent, Samarkand, and Fergana till the year 2005, and includes such goals as the liquidation of the individual small farm system of agriculture in favor of centralized kolkhozes with protective green zones surrounding them. As opposed to past plans, the present one is more comprehensive in nature. It has been recognized as one of the best in the country by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Coordinating Council, and has been recommended as an example for other regions.

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